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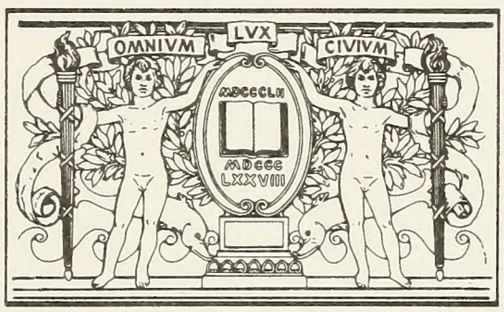

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VAUGHANS IN WALES & AMERICA

Vaughans in Wales & America

A Search for the Welsh Ancestors of William Vaughan (1750-1840)

By James E. Vaughn

HIGGINSON BOOK COMPANY
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Preface

If you were to ask me why I wrote and published this book I would refer you to the first chapter. If you pressed me further I would probably tell you that I simply wanted to try to find our original Welsh emigre ancestor. After all, human population statistics would seem to favor such an enterprise. For example, since the beginning of human history about 60 billion people have been born, most of them in the past few hundreds of years. The farther back in history you care to go, the fewer the number of paternal ancestors from whom each of us is descended, although the parallel paternal-maternal lines bloom almost to infinity.

When Christ was alive, world population was probably around 150 million. Today that many people are born into the world every two years. When our William Vaughan was born around the year 1750 there were scarcely more than 1,000,000 non-natives on the North American Continent, and the world had no more than half a billion people.

World population passed the 1 billion mark sometime between 1840 and 1850, possibly in 1848, the year of the birth of my father's father, Anthony Wayne Vaughan. When I was born in 1925 the world had fewer than 2 billion and the United States only slightly more than 120 million people.

Then came the population explosion: By December 7, 1941, world population had increased to more than 3 billion and, by the year 2000, the population of this planet will have doubled in just 60 years to 6 billion. When viewed retrospectively in this light, one would suspect that going back in time to find a missing ancestor would be a relatively easy thing to do.

In any event, this book is the record of just such an effort to come up with the immediate family of our William Vaughan (1750-1840), my great-great-great grandfather, the progenitor of numerous American Vaughans.

This on-going research effort looks back beyond William to his ancestral kinsmen, the Vaughans who lived for centuries at Tretower and Bredwardine, and to the ever more narrow beginnings of an ever increasing number of Vaughans both here and abroad.

Although Vaughans have become, as one scholar put it, "thick upon the ground", they are also - for the most part - interrelated, and that interrelationship becomes more and more focussed and finite the farther back one goes in time. The same may be said of many families, but here we are concerned with one such family - our Vaughans. I hope you will find their story of interest. I certainly did.

Thanks to the work of Lewis Vaughan we know William Vaughan's story from his time forward. And, thanks to the stories my grandfather told me, we know a great deal about his progenitors in Wales. Unfortunately none of the foregoing means that we shall succeed in finding our William's immediate family. But I invite you to join us on our search. I promise you it will be an interesting one.

During the course of our investigation, we made numerous discoveries, including some most intriguing personalities. Ultimately we were led to the realization that ours is a most difficult genealogical puzzle as is that of any family faced with the problem of identifying an original emigre American ancestor who arrived here before this country became a nation. Not only must we contend with a lack of documentation with regard to dates and ports of entry, but we must also wade through elaborate mythologies concocted by families ambitious to establish an honorable ancestry. To fail to come to grips with these tales and legends, however, often deprives us of valuable clues which can lead us to the truth. We have, therefore, attempted to consider all possible sources of information in this effort.

If there appear to be inconsistencies, redundancies, and even repetitions of names and dates, bear in mind the nature of our problem and the materials and circumstances with which we are dealing. Vaughans are far more numerous than I had ever imagined. And, as we have acknowledged, family records are often incomplete or non-existent, particularly during the period in question, which is the 70 years or so from 1700 through 1770.

Whatever the outcome - and I trust that the reader will bear with us to our final page - it should be emphasized that this is an on-going research effort which will never be complete; such is the nature of these kinds of undertakings. There will always be opportunity to add to and correct inaccuracies. One particular deficiency and need is documentation of the sort often found in family Bibles regarding marriages, births, and deaths of Vaughans, Bentons, and Looneys during the earliest period in this country.

In fact, any documentation concerning any member of the Benton, Looney or Vaughan families for the years 1700 to 1770, would be invaluable additions to this puzzle.

The errors which are bound to appear in a work of this sort are likely mine. Since no printed errata are planned, corrections should be made by the reader in his or her copy of the book. I would be pleased to hear from readers who have found a clue to their ancestry in this volume, as well as those who have a valid opinion or additional information concerning the parents of William Vaughan and Fereby Benton. It would be especially pleasing if one of our readers should be in a position to add documented information concerning the parents of William and Fereby, their brothers and sisters, and the date and place of their marriage. Correspondence should be addressed to me at Route One, Delaplaine, Arkansas 72425.

Acknowledgments

The people to whom I owe thanks are numerous. We begin with Lewis Vaughan without whose early work much of this book would have been impossible. **Vaughan Pioneers** is truly a monumental accomplishment. In it, Lewis documents the lives of some 3,000 Vaughans and Vaughan kinfolk, most of whom are descendants of William and Fereby Benton Vaughan.

I wish also to express my gratitude to the following who aided me in my efforts to find our missing Welsh emigre:

Ralph Griffiths, Professor of Medieval History at University College in Swansea, Wales, who not only provided historical background by way of his book, **The Making of the Tudor Dynasty**, but also took time from his busy schedule to give me encouragement and suggestions through personal correspondence;

Glanmor Williams, General Editor of the **History of Wales**, whose book **Recovery, Reorientation, and Reformation: WALES c 1415-1642** added a great deal to our understanding of the Wales of that period;

Dr. David M. Robinson of CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments, who put me in touch with Professor Griffiths and graciously granted permission to reproduce aspects of the CADW guide to Tretower Court & Castle;

Mrs. M. A. James, Records Agent for **The National Library of Wales** at Aberystwyth, who helped locate and identify Jones' **History of Brecknockshire** and Lee's **Dictionary of National Biography** as well as other useful materials;

Colin Harris, Principal Library Assistant of the Bodleian Library at Oxford for his suggestions and assistance in obtaining excerpts from Clinton Vaughan's thesis material, as well as the Brecon Probate Index for 1733-1782;

Nadean Lee of the Dean B. Ellis Library at Arkansas State University for obtaining reference books for my use via the Interlibrary Loan;

Joe and Lou Vaughan for leading me to the source book which we refer to as the Crickhowell Biographies; and

Wanda Lee Vaughn, my wife, who more than anyone I know, understands the importance and value of family and its civilizing influence on each of us; to her, to all of the others named herein, and to all of the researchers and writers whose work aided me in this effort, I dedicate this book.

Chapter One

An Introduction

Let me clarify my place in this story at the outset: My name is James Vaughan, my father was James Vaughan, and my mother, Frances Lynk Vaughan. My father's first wife was Ella Hammond Vaughan who passed away in 1918. They had two children, George and Ida Mae. My father was the seventh of thirteen children born to Anthony Wayne Vaughan of Wayne County, West Virginia, and America McBrayer Vaughan, daughter of William G. McBrayer of Carter County, Kentucky. Anthony Wayne Vaughan was the seventh of ten children born to James Vaughan and Susannah Wilson Vaughan. This James Vaughan - my great grandfather - was the ninth of twelve children born to Thomas Vaughan and Nancy Ford Vaughan of Wayne County, Virginia. Thomas was the eldest of six children of record born to William Vaughan and Fereby Benton Vaughan who were both born around 1750. Appendix A contains several genealogical outlines of families which will help clarify this lineage.

Initially this particular work was intended primarily for those individuals who claim lineal descent from Anthony Wayne Vaughan, and for others related to William Vaughan and Fereby Benton Vaughan. This book was begun as a search for the parents of William Vaughan and our original Welsh emigre ancestor. Because of the extensive material unearthed on Vaughans of Bredwardine and Tretower in Wales, it became ever more clear to me that countless numbers of Vaughans in America and Great Britain are descended from this ancient family and are very likely to find information here that will be of interest to them in tracing their own particular Vaughan family lineage. Upon that realization, I changed the focus of my research and writing from William and Fereby to all Welsh and American Vaughans who might possibly have some kinship to our William. The reader should bear in mind that this book is part of an on-going search.

Since the publication of Lewis Vaughan's well-researched **Vaughan Pioneers** I have waited and hoped that someone would come up with a link to our Vaughan family's original Welsh-American ancestor; if not William, then his father. Although I had a great deal of information about my immediate family at the time Lewis undertook his work, I carefully refrained from mentioning to him anything regarding any conjectural or unproved stories about our Welsh background. I purposely kept my own counsel about stories my grandfather had related to me for fear that I would prejudice that particular part of Lewis Vaughan's research. And, I must also concede that I was hopeful his investigations would not only confirm the same sort of Welsh connection verbally handed down to me, but that he would be able to discover and document names and dates of the original Welsh-American emigre' as well.

At the same time, I bided my time hoping that Verna Baker Banes' **VAUGHAN ETC. NEWSLETTER** would reach someone with documentation of an original Vaughan, either Fereby's William or his father. Neither of these came to pass and, at this time some ten years later, I feel that I should share with others what I believe to be compelling evidence of our relationship to Vaughans of Tretower, Wales, descendants of Sir Roger Vaughan who came into possession of Tretower Court and Castle in 1450. This book sets forth reasons why I have reached this conclusion, including similar stories handed down in two branches of the family, each quite independent of the other.

So far as can be determined at the time of this writing, no one has succeeded in discovering and documenting who our original emigre' Vaughan was or when he left Wales to come to America. This is a task that remains to be done. It is a challenging one as there are multiple possibilities among the many seventeenth and eighteenth century Tretower Vaughans who left the Usk Valley and Brecon regions of Wales for parts at this time unknown. A word of caution is in order for anyone attempting to research this family: As Professor Ralph Griffiths of the University College of Swansea wrote to me in August of 1989, "...Vaughans are pretty thick on the ground in Wales and may be difficult to unravel." Some forty years earlier, F. E. Hutchinson had similar things to say about this prolific family, reminding us, "Coleridge humorously complains that in Wales 'all V's are Vaughans.'" And it has been my experience that, in addition to their numerous progeny, family records of many descendants of these Vaughans are often incomplete and may in many instances be non-existent. By the mid 1700s Vaughans of Bredwardine and Tretower had spread throughout Great Britain, taking on new family identities - Vaughans of Golden Groven and Carmarthenshire - and to America as far north as Newfoundland and Maine where members of one prominent Tretower branch established themselves as Vaughans of Hallowell.

Coastal Virginia had countless numbers of Vaughans already in residence in 1650 and, for many of these families, records of their births, marriages, and deaths are meager. And, for every Vaughan whose family record survives to this day, there were innumerable male Vaughans, cut off by primogeniture, for whom records are simply not available. Many of these Vaughans, from whom so many American Vaughans are descended, were nonetheless related to those same Vaughans of Bredwardine and Tretower. The fact that many of them arrived here completely unheralded before this country won its freedom from England further complicates the matter of searching them out.

A cursory inspection of the first few pages of this book may provoke some serious questions. There will be those who

will wonder why I chose to include some of the material in this first chapter rather than in a preface or introduction, but a careful reading should reveal that the story would be less than complete without it. The fact that some readers pass over introductory prologues, and begin instead with the main body or first chapter, led to the decision to include in this opening chapter material that would normally be included in a prefatory introduction.

My grandfather, Anthony Wayne Vaughan is the person most responsible for much of my early knowledge of our Vaughans. Unfortunately, my early relationship with this self-educated and well-read gentleman was all too typical of most young people. Neither I nor other grandchildren wrote down much of what Anthony Wayne Vaughan had to relate; however, some of my grandfather's stories that I do recall from the late 1930s make a strong and compelling case to support my hypothesis that our Welsh Vaughans are the Tretower Vaughans, although I did not reach this conclusion until I became aware of and confirmed several pertinent facts in 1989. Grandfather Anthony Wayne Vaughan survived my father, James, by some five years, and he visited us a number of times at Van Lear, Kentucky. He died in 1940 and is buried in a family plot in Rose Hill Cemetery at Ashland.

My father dropped the final a in our name, some said because he objected when his name was pronounced "Vawg-han". It seems that there was a neighboring family named Shaughan near his home at Rush in Boyd County, Kentucky. Their name was enunciated as "Shaw-han" and this led others to articulate the Vaughan surname similarly. Several other brothers and sisters also dropped the final a, an act that was not the least amusing to their father who protested, saying that they should keep the a; it was the time-honored Welsh way of writing it. Virtually all modern-day Vaughans originally spelled their name with the final a. The name underwent numerous changes in spelling in ancient times from Fychan to Vychan to Vachan to Vahon, but the preferred spelling has been Vaughan for many centuries although spelling variants from Vaughn to Von to Vaun may also be found today in the United States. The most likely order of transformation appears to have been Fychan to Vychan to Vachan to Vaughan.

Anthony Wayne Vaughan had a deep interest in his Welsh background and, through stories handed down by his father, James, and grandfather, Thomas, he had some knowledge of our Vaughans both here in America and in Wales, and he was especially proud of our family as an honorable people with a long history of service to the English Crown.

My interest in our family actually dates back to the mid 1960s when my Uncle Everett Vaughan first made me aware of a legal matter in eastern Kentucky which seemed to hold out the possibility of providing further clues to our American ancestors. Until then I knew only what my grandfather had

told me. Had my father, James Vaughn, lived longer, he may have added to that knowledge, but a coal mining accident ended his life and the lives of eight other men, July 17, 1935, when methane gas exploded in Consolidation Mine Number 155 at Van Lear where my father was then employed.

The legal matter in eastern Kentucky took place in the Floyd County courts during the early 1940s, and involved the widow of Clarence Hokiashe, an Osage Indian, who litigated there in an effort to prove that her child had the right to inherit her share of the Indian lands previously owned by the child's father. She had always heard stories about a strain of Cherokee Indian blood that ran through the veins of her Vaughan ancestors. She then came to Eastern Kentucky to prove her point which she subsequently did. No one to my knowledge has ever proved a direct link between those Vaughans - descended from the Floyd County patriarch Ayres Vaughan (1742-1842) - and ours, but the writings of Henry Scalf, who reported the Hokiashe proceedings in the Floyd County Times, further whetted my appetite for information about my father's family.

A query which I placed in Scalf's eastern Kentucky genealogical periodical brought a response from our Vaughan relative, the late Charles Thompson, then living in Detroit. When Charles learned that I was earning my living by writing and publishing educational materials, he urged me to research and publish something on our Vaughans. Genealogical work has never been my cup of tea, although I admire those who have the stamina and persistence to do it. Ultimately, Lewis Vaughan took up the cause, spent considerable time doing the necessary research and subsequently published his excellent book, **Vaughan Pioneers**, in which he chronicles descendants of William and Fereby Vaughan of Russell County, Virginia - our Vaughans in America.

As we now know, it was necessary for Lewis to go to press without any definitive story on our original American Vaughan. As he states, "According to family tradition William Vaughan was born in Wales. Up to now there has been no official confirmation of this. However, I am inclined to accept the tradition as correct. Despite much research I have been unable to link William with the extensive Vaughan settlements in central and southside Virginia. His appearance in southwest Virginia in the early 1770s indicates rather that he immigrated to America about this time, arriving at Philadelphia or another northern port, and proceeding thence down the Valley of Virginia."[1] (PIONEERS, p 231)

As I stated at the outset, a number of questions will probably occur to readers of this book. There will be those who will have difficulty understanding why anyone would spend time, energy and other resources on a project such as this, particularly one in which the outcome is in doubt, and more especially in view of the fact that the writer has no

children. There is no monetary reward to be won; there are no descendants who will follow the author and praise him for his efforts; there will be a number of readers who will remain unconvinced that our Welsh Vaughans are the Tretower Vaughans, although of this I no longer have doubts; and, finally, the odds that the one missing link with Vaughans of Tretower in Wales will ever be found and identified are long, to say the very least. Perhaps it is this latter aspect of this matter that provides the challenge which compels this study. With this in mind, the reader is invited to take up the chase, as it were, to enter into an investigation and join the hunt for our original emigre' Vaughan of Tretower. To those readers who are unrelated to our William and Fereby, perhaps you will find a clue to your Vaughans in Wales.

There are multiple motives, reasons and urgings which move one to this sort of undertaking if one cares to look for them. Some of those reasons are quite apart from and independent of one's own family, equally applicable to all families. Consider this rather intriguing aspect of an otherwise prosaic subject: Each of us is a unique human personality, the end-product of an almost endless number of genetic transmutations. Yet, despite the seeming endlessness of those ancestors, who for the most part are destined to remain forever nameless, those unknown progenitors are really quite finite in number.

Each of us has two parents, four grandparents, eight great grandparents, sixteen great-great grandparents, thirty-two great-great-greats, then sixty-four, followed by 128, then 256, 512, and so on until finally, after twenty generations, each of us has more than one million direct antecedents in our parallel paternal and maternal ancestral lines. You might find it interesting to check this bit of arithmetic out for yourself.

In my own case, I am six generations removed from our American ancestors, William and Fereby Vaughan. Going back to that point, I have sixty-four paternal and maternal progenitors. From this William Vaughan back to Sir Roger Vaughan II, the original Vaughan of Tretower, are fourteen more generations. According to my calculations, I am twenty generations removed from this ancestor. Going back from my time to the time of Sir Roger, I have more than one million other paternal-maternal ancestors in addition to Sir Roger, and this takes me back only to the fifteenth century. These facts are inviolate and immutable for each of us and - whether or not the paternal bloodline remains relatively pure, which in many cases it does not - we must take note of the preponderance of genetic influence on each of us from the paternal line of our ancestry. Even though that paternal side is diluted by successive generations of new blood, it remains nonetheless the predominant genetic strain, although it is obvious that we often concentrate on it without giving

due consideration to the maternal side. However, we may perhaps be forgiven for this oversight since it is the paternal side which provides the surname and, in the span of twenty generations we have a bloodline ratio of twenty sires on the paternal side to a million or so infusions of other bloodlines on the distaff side.

The fact that a great deal is known about our Tretower Vaughans has renewed my interest in pursuing this matter. And I cannot deny being fascinated by numerous personages I have encountered through my further studies of this family. eg: The Picards, who first constructed a fortification at Tretower during the Norman invasion of the eleventh century under Bernard de Neufmarche', are of great interest. Although probably not connected genetically with the Vaughan family, they are an important part of this story even though very little is known about them. Sir David Gam, who merited a place in Shakespeare's **Henry V**, was the father of Gwladys Gam who became the mother of Roger, the first Vaughan of Tretower. Roger himself may be the most fascinating character of all. Not only did he start the Tretower Vaughan line, he added to and improved Tretower Court, and eventually lost his life while pursuing the cause of the Yorkists and King Edward IV against the Tudors and the Lancastrians. He was beheaded at Chepstow Castle in 1471 by Jasper Tudor ostensibly because of the part he was thought to have played in the execution of Jasper's father, Owen Tudor, some ten years earlier.

And then there are the twin sons born to Thomas Vaughan and Denise Morgan Vaughan. Most writers focus on Henry Vaughan, The Silurist. We shall also have a look into the life of his twin brother, Thomas, who in many ways led an even more fascinating life than that of his better known sibling.

Henry Vaughan was a writer of mystical and sacred poetry but, like many writers, recognition of his outstanding talent did not come in his lifetime. Primarily because of the later acceptance and success of his **Silex Scintillans**, researchers went to work and documented a good part of his life, and it is because of this documentation that we have much of the source material for a good part of this book. One aspect of Henry Vaughan's personality that will not go unnoticed, at least by this writer, is alluded to by F. E. Hutchinson in his **HENRY VAUGHAN: A LIFE AND INTERPRETATION**. Of the visionary power of Henry Vaughan, he says, "we should notice that the poet was best able to reach those moments of vision in solitude and in quiet communing with nature.

"There are many indications that this 'proud and humorous' person, though affectionate by disposition, felt the need at times to seclude himself from human intercourse. He shrank from placing too much reliance upon the company of others, even of those he loved. He grudged the time spent on 'Excesse of friends.'" [2](HUTCHINSON, p.166)

Our connection with the Vaughans of Tretower became to me a virtual certainty when I was able to confirm aspects of our family legends that had been told me by my father's father, Anthony Wayne Vaughan, who had in turn had these same stories and legends handed down to him by word of mouth from his father, James, and his father's father, Thomas, who got them from his father, William, who knew them first-hand. These stories will not be repeated here in this introductory chapter, for they are a major part of this book and require elaboration.

These same stories had been told and re-told in essentially the same form to members of the Northwest Arkansas descendants of William and Fereby Vaughan who had had no contact with our Virginia Vaughans since William and Fereby gave up their lands in Russell County, Virginia just a few short years after the American Revolution. When I became aware that these two branches of William and Fereby's family shared these stories quite apart from any influence of one on the other, my interest in pursuing these matters increased. Then, when Joe and Lou Vaughan of the Northwest Arkansas branch of the family returned from Wales in 1982 and related their findings to me, my desire to learn more about the Tretower Vaughans grew even more intense.

In May of 1989, Wanda Lee and I went to Wales where all of what my grandfather had told me fell into place and became real. Each of his major themes was confirmed, at least to my satisfaction. There remains the daunting but not impossible task of discovering which of the Tretower Vaughans emigrated to America to start our line but, then, that is the mystery which I now invite you, the reader, to help solve. And, to those Vaughans in America who are not descended from my William and Fereby, let me assure you that we may nevertheless share a common ancestry even farther back in time in Wales where, as Professor Ralph Griffiths so colorfully phrased it, Vaughans are thick upon the ground.

Notes Concerning the Bibliography and References

Throughout this book we have avoided using footnotes, relying instead on endnotes. With one exception, Latin abbreviations have also been avoided. Except for the occasional use of Ibid. to indicate the same reference as that last cited, capitalized English language words in parentheses immediately following each cited passage have been used.

This tactic has been adopted to avoid the distraction that usually occurs when the eye shifts from superscripted footnoted references to the footnotes themselves and back again to the text, and because of confusion and lack of common understanding of the use of the Latin terms. Thus, the reader will find references such as (HUTCHINSON, p. 23) immediately following the passage to which the reference pertains. A brief study of the reference legends that follow should enable the reader to understand the sources being cited.

The reader will also be aware of a departure from conventional practice in placing this bibliographical explanation in the initial chapter where it will be more accessible and useful to the reader, rather than at the end of the book. It is believed that this will make the book easier to read and understand. A conventional Bibliography is also included following the final chapter, but this too is alphabetized according to the initial letters of the capitalized abbreviations.

A third difference may be noted in the way many explanatory comments are included within the text itself. Whereas many writers prefer to consign footnoted remarks and annotations to an appendix far removed from the text, this book includes them within the main body of the work in the simple belief that if a comment is called for regarding thematic material within the text, in most instances it should be included as a part of the text to which it pertains.

Some of the reference materials did seem to require elaboration apart from that contained within the text itself, and such remarks have been appended to the bibliographic listings in this intitial chapter rather than in author's notes. References to source materials are in the form of sequentially numbered and superscripted endnotes in each chapter.

The abbreviations used are those which seemed to be most natural at the time, and they remain constant throughout the book.

(ANNALS) **Annals of Southwest Virginia, 1769-1800**, 2 volumes by Lewis Preston Summers, Genealogical Publishing Company, Baltimore, 1970.

(BARBADOS) **Barbados Records, Wills & Administrations, Volume I, 1639-1680**, Joanne McCree Sanders, Sanders Historical Publishing Company, Marceline, MO 64658, 1979.

(BLEVINS) **Sweeten's Cove Primitive Baptist Church Book , 1821-1868, Marion County, Tennessee** by Jerry Blevins, 125 pp., 1987.

(BRADLEY) **The History of Bradley County**, R. G. Lillard, Editor, Bradley County Chapter of the East Tennessee Historical Society. A limited edition of 1000 copies of which this is number 25. Cleveland, Tennessee, 1976.

(BRECKNOCKSHIRE) **History of Brecknockshire**, Theophilus Jones, 4 volumes, 1909-30, ed. Bailey.

(BRITTANICA, MACROPAEDIA) The Macropaedia Volumes of **The Encyclopaedia Brittanica**, 15th Edition, c 1974, as for example (BRITTANICA, MACROPAEDIA, Volume 10, p.1149).

(BRITTANICA, MICROPAEDIA) The Micropaedia Volumes of **The Encyclopaedia Brittanica**, 15th Edition, c 1974, as for example (BRITTANICA, MICROPAEDIA, Volume X, page 371).

(CADW) **Tretower Court and Castle**, ISBN 0-948329-11-4., The Third Edition, c 1986, a publication of CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments, 2 Fitzalan Road, Cardiff, CF2 1UY, Wales, United Kingdom. This guidebook relies heavily on the research and writing of C. A. Ralegh Radford, MA, DLitt, FBA, and the editorial work of David M. Robinson, BSc, PhD, who graciously granted to the author permission to reproduce aspects of the guide. A later edition was said to have been in the process of production in 1989-90.

(CALL-STAIRSTEP) **EUREKA SPRINGS: Stair-Step-Town**, 11th Edition, c 1952 by Cora Pinkley-Call, Echo Press, Eureka Springs, Arkansas.

(CALL-VALLEY) **Within My Ozark Valley** by Cora Pinckley-Call, c 1956, published for the author by The Times Echo, Eureka Springs, Arkansas.

(CHAMBERS-1) **The Poems of Henry Vaughan, Silurist, Volume I.** The Muses' Library Edition of **Silex Scintillans**, the latter first published in 1650, this reissued volume edited by Sir E. K. Chambers with an introduction by H. C. Beeching, republished simultaneously in 1896 in London by Lawrence & Bullen, Ltd., and in New York by Charles Scribner's Sons.

(CHAMBERS-2) **The Poems of Henry Vaughan, Silurist, Volume II.** The Muses' Library Edition of **Olor Iscanus**, the latter first published in 1650, this reissued volume edited by Sir E. K. Chambers with an introduction by H. C. Beeching, republished simultaneously in 1896 in London by Lawrence & Bullen, Ltd., and in New York by Charles Scribner's Sons.

(CLARK) **Colonial Soldiers of the South, 1732-1774**, by M. J. Clark, Reprint by Genealogical Publishing Company, Inc., Baltimore).

(CLEMENS) **American Marriage Records Before 1699**, edited and compiled by William Montgomery Clemens (1926), reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., Baltimore, 1967, (ISBN 0-8063-0075-2).

(CLINTON VAUGHAN) This notation refers to a **Pedigree of Vaughan of Tretower** prepared in 1940 by Clinton Vaughan as part of thesis material on file at The National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, Dyfed.

(CORDELIA) The author has in his possession letters and rough drafts of portions of a manuscript written by Cordelia Vaughan of Elgin, Oregon, a descendant of William Tyler Vaughan, including an account of interviews with the son of William Tyler Vaughan.

(CRICKHOWELL) **The Dictionary of (Welsh) National Biography, Volume XX**, no copyright date. This valuable source book was discovered in 1982 in The Library on Silver Lane in Crickhowell by the late Joe Vaughan of Northwest Arkansas and his wife Lou. They had pages photocopied and it is this source to which we refer. For a time we were unable to establish lines of communication with the local librarian, Mr. A. D. Muir, and we were at first unable to name this source. We simply referred to it as **CRICKHOWELL** which we continued to do following receipt of Mr. Muir's letter of 22 January 1990.

(CYMRY) **The Cymry of '76 or Welshmen and Their Descendants of The American Revolution**, an address by Alexander Jones, M.D., with Appendix, 1855, reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Company and Clearfield Company, Baltimore, 1968, LC Card No. 68-54869.

(DAR) The DAR Index Book 125, as well as various other histories of early Virginia include mentions of a number of Vaughans in Virginia in the early 1700s. Pages 337 and 338 of **EARLY VIRGINIA IMMIGRANTS** list some 27 Vaughans, dating back to 1636 in this country.

(DIANA) **Memoires d'une ex-Palladiste** a manuscript purportedly being prepared for publication by a Ms. Diana Vaughan in Paris ca. 1896.

(DUNMORE) **DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF DUNMORE'S WAR - 1774**, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D., and Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D., first published by The State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1905, facsimile reprint published in 1989 by HERITAGE BOOKS, INC., Bowie, Maryland 20716. (ISBN 1-55613-226-3).

(ETC) **Vaughan Etc. Newsletter**, a genealogical newsletter dealing mostly with Vaughans, originated by Verna Baker Banes, P. O. Box 7435, Huntsville, Texas 77342).

(FILBY) **Passenger and Immigration Lists Index, Volume 3**, P. William Filby with Mary K. Meyer, 2339 pages, one of three volumes, Gale Research Company, Detroit, Michigan 48226, First Edition, 1981.

(FILSON) **"Court of Appeals, Deeds-Grantees, Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds"**, Filson Club, Publication No. 34, Jillson, W. R., 1926, The Standard Printing Company, Louisville, Kentucky.

(GENERAL VAUGHAN) This notation is used to refer to information resulting from the author's correspondence with the late General Harry H. Vaughan, former military aide to President Harry S. Truman. Benedict K. Zobrist, Director of the Harry S. Truman Library at Independence, Missouri, by letter dated September 4, 1970 directed the author to the general who was retired and then living at 2100 Forest Hill Road in Alexandria, Virginia. Following a letter of introduction to him, General Vaughan responded less than a week later. The correspondence continued until 1975 when General Vaughan reported that his wife, "the family genealogist," had become quite ill. He then referred the author to Heath Meriwether of Hannibal, Missouri, for further cooperative research. References to any of these letters shall be identified with the notation (GENERAL VAUGHAN), followed by appropriate dates.

(GLOBAL) This notation is used when referring to information obtained by letter of 23 January 1990 from Global Research Systems of Salt Lake City, Utah.

(GOODSPEED) **The Goodspeed Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Northwestern Arkansas**, The Goodspeed Publishing Company, Chicago, 1889, 1382 pp + index.

(GRIFFITHS-TUDOR) **The Making of the Tudor Dynasty**, Ralph A. Griffiths and Roger S. Thomas, St. Martin's Press, 1985.

(HARRIS-LASATER-DOUTHAT-RAULSTON) Four books in the genealogical section of the Tennessee Library and Archives at Nashville: Mary S. Harris' **Marion County Tennessee Cemetery Records**; Lee Lasater's **Ancient Owners of Marion County Farms**; J. L. Douthat's **Sequatchie Families: Sketches of Earliest Settlers**; and J. L. Raulston's **Cemeteries of Sequatchie Valley.**

(HELTON) Robert W. Helton of 5739 North 98th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the mid 1970s contributed a family

list to an eastern Kentucky genealogical journal for James and Faribe (Robert's spelling) Helton Vaughan.

(HODGDON) **Vaughan Family of New Hampshire**, "Reminiscences and Genealogical Record" by George E. Hodgdon, first privately printed in Rochester, N.Y. in 1918; reprinted by Higginson Books, Salem, Mass., 150 pp. + index.

(HOTTEN) **The Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 1600-1700**, John Camden Hotten, reissued by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1986, 580 pp. with index.

(HUTCHINSON) **Henry Vaughan: A Life and Interpretation**, F. E. Hutchinson, D.Litt, F.B.A., Sometime Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford University Press, 1947, 260 pp.

(KEGLEY-1) **Early Adventurers On The Western Waters, Volume I, The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745-1800**, Mary B. Kegley and F. B. Kegley, 1980, Green Publishers, Inc., Orange, Virginia, 440 pp. incl. index.

(KEGLEY-2) **Early Adventurers On The Western Waters, Volume II, The New River of Virginia in Pioneer Days, 1745-1800**, Mary B. Kegley, 1982, Green Publishers, Inc., Orange, Virginia, 515 pp. incl. index.

(LEBAR) An article by Associated Press writer Paul Lebar titled **Outlaws' final years: Kin tells 'true' story of James brothers** which appeared in the August 21, 1969 issue of **The Detroit News**.

(MARION) Microfilmed records of Marion County, Tennessee land entries, particularly Roll Number 119, Volume I, 1823-1895. Tennessee Library & Archives, Nashville.

(MERIWETHER) References to correspondence with either Thomas C. Vaughan, Heath Meriwether, Robert Meriwether, or others concerning Meriwethers and their relationship to Vaughans shall be referenced with the preceding notation. In July of 1973 the author wrote to General and Mrs. Harry Vaughan to tell them that kinsman Thomas C. Vaughan of 728 Tenth Avenue, Huntington, West Virginia, had visited the Library of Archives in Richmond and had come across some information concerning the marriage of Shadrach Vaughan to Mary Meriwether on 19 June 1770. This apparently was recorded adjacent to an entry for the marriage of Benjamin Vaughan (b 1763) and Margaret (Ladd) Vaughan (b 1776), with no date for this latter union. Later correspondence revealed a rather complete Meriwether genealogy which showed the relationship of Shadrach Vaughan and the Meriwethers.

(MICKEY) **The Vaughans**, by Mickey Weise Vaughan, 1977. This notation is used to refer to this book as well as correspondence with Mrs. Kenneth (Mickey) Vaughan of Northwest Arkansas, including an 8-page letter of February 15, 1973.

(MINOR) **The Meriwethers and Their Connections**, a family record by Louisa H. A. Minor, first published by Joel Munsell's Sons, Albany, N.Y., 1892; reprinted by Higginson Books, Salem, Massachusetts, 179 pages.

(MORRIS) An article in the **Wayne County (WVa.) News** by Byron Morris, dated 8 January 1981. The article concerns James Wilson (1767-1857) who married Sarah Mounts (Mountz) in Bath County, Virginia 11 January 1795, parents of Susannah Wilson. James was said to have been a drummer boy during the American Revolution. Sarah was said to be part Cherokee.

(PINE) **Heraldry and Genealogy**, L. G. Pine, The English Universities Press LTD., London.

(PIONEERS) **Vaughan Pioneers**, a 359-page hardback book about William and Fereby Vaughan of Russell County, Virginia, and their descendants. Copyright 1979 by Lewis E. Vaughan of 5446 Varnum Street, Bladensburg, Maryland 20710. Published for the author by Gateway Press, Inc. of Baltimore, Maryland.

(SAFFELL) **Records of the Revolutionary War** by W. T. Saffell, Pudney & Russell, Publishers, New York, 1857-58.

(SCALF) In September of 1976, Henry Scalf of Stanville, Kentucky published one of the author's queries in his "Journal of Genealogy and History", **The East Kentuckian**, Volume XII, Number II. References to this query shall be identified with this notation.

(SHEPPARD) **Reminiscences of The Vaughan Family, and More Particularly of Benjamin Vaughan, LL.D.**, by John H. Sheppard, A.M., Librarian of The New England Historic-Genealogical Society, read before that group August 2, 1865, published by David Clapp & Son, Boston, 1865.

(STARR) **Starr's History of the Cherokee Indians**, Edited by Jack Gregory and Rennard Strickland, c 1967, Indian Heritage Association, Fayetteville, Arkansas 72701, 672 pp. + index.

(V.H.I.) **VIRGINIA HISTORICAL INDEX**, Volume II, E. G. Swem, Stone Printing & Mfg. Co., Roanoke, Virginia, 1934.

(VOICES) **THE VOICES OF OLD MEN: A Story of the Vaughan Family**, Henry P. Scalf, a pamphlet written and published by

Scalf in 1965, reprinted from "Voices of Old Men Recall Family History for Court" in Floyd County (Kentucky) Times, Prestonsburg, Kentucky, August 20 and August 27, 1964.

(WARREN) Microfilmed land-transfer and other such records for Warren County, Tennessee, particularly Roll Number 911, 1814-1820. Tennessee Library & Archives, Nashville.

(WHITE) Microfilmed records of deeds and land transfers for White County, Tennessee, Rolls Numbered 62, 123, 1811-1876. Tennessee Library & Archives, Nashville.

(WILEY) JENNY WILEY COUNTRY: A History of the Big Sandy Valley in Kentucky's Eastern Highlands and Genealogy of the Region's People, Volume I, C. Mitchel Hall, c 1972-85, Kingsport Press, 710 pages.

(WILLIAMS-REF) Recovery, Reorientation, and Reformation: WALES c.1415-1642, Glanmor Williams, Clarendon Press, Oxford; University of Wales Press; and Oxford University Press, 1987.

(WOOD) Athenae Oxonienses by Anthony Wood, 1692.

Chapter Two

William and Fereby Benton Vaughan

Throughout this chapter, we rely heavily although not exclusively on the research and writing of Lewis Vaughan, author of **Vaughan Pioneers**, as our principal authority. We have attempted to expand on his work wherever possible, drawing upon additional resources where they are known and are available to us. Since Lewis is widely known as a careful genealogical researcher who acknowledged names, dates, and relationships as facts only after they were substantiated or corroborated, we see no need to repeat his sources. Appendix B on page 325 of his work provides a bibliography which lists more than twenty books and periodicals to which he had access. In addition, and on a more personal and fundamental level, he conducted his own investigations through family interviews and correspondence and by examining courthouse and other records, including family records, state tax lists, published histories and genealogies, and federal census and land-grant records, among others. The enormity of his undertaking can perhaps be better understood in terms of numbers. He identified more than 3,000 direct descendants of William and Fereby Vaughan through eight generations, counting William and Fereby as the first generation.

Lewis utilized a system of numeration, which we shall repeat in genealogical listings, in which William Vaughan is assigned the number 1 and the offspring of William and Fereby 2, 3, 4, et cetera, in sequential fashion, with their first-born Thomas being #2, their second child John #3 and so on. These numbers remain constant for each individual throughout **Vaughan Pioneers**, thus helping to locate particular individuals while at the same time distinguishing between persons with the same Christian name. Whenever we refer to any of these persons by number, the reader should bear in mind that that number may be used to locate additional information on that particular person in **Vaughan Pioneers**.

We gratefully acknowledge and thank Lewis Vaughan for this work, and for his generosity in permitting us to quote from it. When we do so, as we have indicated elsewhere in this book, we shall use the abbreviated reference, PIONEERS, as our shortened way of saying that we are quoting from or referring to **Vaughan Pioneers**, the 359-page hardback book, copyright 1979 by Lewis E. Vaughan of 5446 Varnum Street, Bladensburg, Maryland 20710, published for the author by Gateway Press, Inc. of Baltimore.

William Vaughan: Where did he come from?

The subtitle above with its dangling preposition perhaps says it best of all. Indeed, unless a major breakthrough occurs between the time of the writing and the publication of this book, we shall probably characterize this entire work as a mystery in which we invite the reader to join us on a search for the Welsh kinsmen of our American pioneer ancestor, William Vaughan. Should we succeed by chance or by design to locate and authenticate the one Welsh Vaughan from whom our William descended, we shall endeavor to restrain ourselves and withhold these glad tidings to the very end.

Lewis Vaughan was inclined to think that William Vaughan arrived in this country, probably from someplace in Wales, in the early 1770s, possibly arriving "at Philadelphia or another port, and proceeding thence down the Valley of Virginia." [1](PIONEERS, p.231) Lewis also mentions a tradition among some West Virginia Vaughans that he and a brother may have come from Ireland and, while neither tradition has been confirmed, he lends to each "a measure of plausibility."

As to the year of the birth of both William and his bride-to-be, Fereby Benton, Lewis reaches a tentative conclusion that both were born around 1750. Both were included in the 1830 census as 70-80 year-old members of their son Samuel's household in Washington County, Arkansas. Fereby Vaughan, age 105 years, is listed among the decedents on the 1850 mortality report for Madison County, Arkansas. This would make 1745 the year of Fereby Benton Vaughan's birth but, as Lewis suggests, a somewhat later year is more probable.

The first document that Lewis Vaughan found which provided evidence that William Vaughan was alive and well in this country was a list of tithables for the year 1773 for the New River portion of Fincastle County, Virginia. Existing for but a brief period, from 1773 to 1777, it then covered all of southwestern Virginia, including present-day Russell County where tax records show that both William and Fereby owned property and probably resided from 1783 to 1797. The names of both William Vaughan and Thomas Vawn appear on a list prepared by a John Montgomery to show all of the tithables in a Captain Herbert's Company in 1773, but William is listed as "not found." Apparently he had by this time left the New River country. His name does not appear on the list of tithables for the preceding year when that same area was a part of Botetourt County.

An auditor's account which survived intact from Lord Dunmore's War shows that, in 1774, William Vaughan served for a period of 35 days in the company of Captain David Looney who was from an area adjoining the Cherokee Nation

which included what would later become Sullivan County, Tennessee. In reviewing the original source material at the Virginia State Library, Lewis Vaughan was able to determine that "William Vaughan and those listed adjacent to him were all paid by Lieut. John Cox. Cox and most of those paid by him were also included on the list prepared by John Montgomery in 1773. From this it is apparent that the William Vaughan who served under Captain David Looney was the same man who in 1772 or 1773 settled briefly in the New River area." [2](PIONEERS, p. 232)

During his investigations into the matter of William Vaughan's military service, Lewis Vaughan discovered that Daniel Boone served for a period of some 40 days as a Lieutenant in Captain David Looney's Company. As Lewis points out, the opportunity for the two to know each other existed although it is not known for a certainty that they met. The likelihood that they did indeed meet is enhanced by their common service in the same military company, however.

The research and writing of F. B. Kegley and Mary B. Kegley culminated in the publication of two volumes dealing with the early history of the western frontier lands of Virginia during the early Colonial years. One of the earliest developers of the so-called Lands of the Western Waters of Virginia was Thomas Walker who made land surveys as an agent for the Loyal Land Company. Sometime prior to May of 1783, Walker presented to the Land Office of Virginia a list of surveys made for nearly one thousand early settlers.

According to Kegley, the names of these individuals and the numbers of acres claimed by them may be found in the Augusta County records of Suit N.S. 183, filed in 1834 on behalf of these petitioners. A similar list is said to be found among the papers of the Loyal Land Company in the Archives of the Virginia State Library. Among the names of these petitioners is that of a William Vaughan who was seeking 80 acres. Although no individual dates of settlement or survey are given, it may be assumed with a high degree of probability that many if not most of these petitioners had already settled upon these lands they were seeking, some perhaps from the year 1775, following the end of Dunmore's War. These lands were located on the New River as well as on branches of the Holston and Clinch rivers. It is not known if this William was our William Vaughan. [3](KEGLEY-1, pp.31-38)

During its brief life from 1773 through 1777, Fincastle County at that time took in a good part of western Virginia and a portion of present-day eastern Kentucky. Two lists of Delinquents for Fincastle for 1773 are of interest. One returned by Daniel Trigg, Deputy Sheriff, lists Wm. Vahon and Thos. Vaun, both probably Vaughans, and the second returned by James McGavock included the name of a William Vaughan. The first list, signed by a neighbor named

W. Ingles, was recorded by the court in Fincastle on December 6, 1774 with a copy given to the sheriff. The second was signed by the same W. Ingles on the same date, with the added notation, "At a court held for Fincastle Dec. 6, 1774, this list of delinquents on New River and Reed Creek was recorded by the court containing 213 tithables and is that part ought to be received by the Vestry of the Parish of Botetourt."[4] (KEGLEY-1, pp.105-106)

A claim for a Revolutionary War pension was filed in 1832 in Grayson County, Virginia by a William Vaughan. This, of course, is far too late to have been Fereby's William Vaughan who is not known to have served in the Colonial Army during the Revolution. It could not have been their son William as he was born after that war.

Although our William is known to have served in Lord Dunmore's War, his name apparently was not among those seeking land grants for this service. At the same time, his name is not among the list of claimants for land grants for service rendered during the earlier French and Indian War. In all likelihood he would have been too young to have served in that war. Among those who did claim land for service rendered during this war, however, is Shadrack Vaughan, "for service under Col. Byrd, 2,000 acres." This, apparently is the 2,000 acres granted him along the Sandy River, although the location is not given in this document. This Shadrack is very likely the ancestor of the late General Harry Vaughan, military aide to then-President Harry Truman. We have yet to establish any connection between the General's Shadrach and our William.[5] (KEGLEY-1, pp. 71-72)

Among the documents preserved in the Montgomery County, Virginia Courthouse at Christiansburg are several lists of individuals who took Oaths of Allegiance to the new American cause. One such list names those "who took state oath before James McGavock September to December 1777." A John Vaughan is among them, as well as a John Cox, but no other names of apparent interest. There are no other Vaughans in Kegley's first volume, but there are ten entries for persons named Looney, including both John and David, the latter the same Captain David Looney of Dunmore's War.[6] (KEGLEY-1 p.146, 147) The entry for John Looney in Book 1 of the Augusta County Surveys at Staunton has to do with his application for a survey of "400 acres at the Narrows, 7 miles below Horeshoe Bottom." This entry was recorded in 1763, along with other requests for surveys along New River, Draper's Meadow, Tom's Creek, Strouble's (sic) Creek, and Crab Creek.[7] (KEGLEY-1, pp.181-182)

Because of their relationship to Shadrack Vaughan - and the possibility that Shadrack was related to our William - we are also interested in the Meriwethers of western Virginia who are related to Dr. Thomas Walker who around 1741 married Mildred Thornton Meriwether, widow of Nicholas Meriwether. Sometime prior to 1754 Walker and Mildred, his

first wife, moved to a large estate formerly owned by Mildred as a result of a land grant previously made to her first husband, Nicholas. They built a house there around 1765, naming it Castle Hill and they had twelve children. When Mildred died, Thomas married Elizabeth Thornton. Included among the names of early claimants of land in the area were Thomas Walker, John Meriwether, Thomas Meriwether, and Thomas Meriwether Jr.
[8] (KEGLEY-1, pp.27-28)

Before leaving the Kegley books, let us look at the second volume which was completed by Mary Kegley under a 1982 copyright. This book contains entries for eight persons whose surname is Vaughan, including Elizabeth Byrd Vaughan, James, Jesse, Mary, Matthew, R., Shadrick, and William.

The entries for these Vaughans are not likely to be of any significance or assistance to us in our search, but we list them for the record. Montgomery County Virginia marriage records include an entry dated December 6, 1787 for "Jesse Vaughn and Elizabeth Byrd, sur. William Vaughn; consent of parents William and Mary Vaughn, and William and Sarah Burch." [9] (KEGLEY-2, p.182)

Shadrick (probably Shadrack or Shadrach) Vaughan has a Fincastle County entry dated April 25, 1774 granting to him a "governor's warrant (for) 2,000 acres (along) Crooked Creek of the Ohio on the west side of Kentucky River part of land marked out for McAfees and McCowns last year by Hancock Taylor." [10] (KEGLEY-2, p.9)

Other Montgomery County entries include records of sizeable land grants to Mathew Vaughan and James Vaughan: "Mathew Vaughan, treasury warrant, 4,967 acres adjoining and below the last mentioned entry of Nicholas Meriwether for 400 acres. And, "James Vaughan, treasury warrant, 1,400 acres to begin at the last mentioned entry of Mathew Vaughan and on the lower end and to extend down the creek on both sides until it intersects with the upper line of an entry made by John Madison for Samuel Hannawa at the mouth of the sd. creek." Both of these entries are of interest because they follow entries pertaining to land warrants in the name of Nicholas Meriwether, to wit: "Nicholas Meriwether, exchange preemption warrant, 600 acres adjoining and below Mr. Samuel Prior's entry of 1,000 acres," and "Nicholas Meriwether, exchange preemption warrant, 400 acres adjoining and below the last mentioned entry." [11] (KEGLEY-2, p.86) These records are, of course, of great interest if Shadrack Vaughan is related to our William. The R. Vaughan in Kegley-2 is listed as a signer of a Grayson County Legislative Petition on December 26, 1798, and the only others who appear to be of interest among the twelve signers are a David Cox, Samuel Cox, and Jesse Cox.

Captain David Looney is mentioned in Kegley-2 in notes referring to pension applications by men who served under him in 1777-78, during the Revolutionary War. We know that

some three years earlier during Dunmore's War, William Vaughan served for a time under Captain Looney, but at this point we have no evidence that he did or did not serve in the Colonial Army during the War against Great Britain. References are made to Captain Looney's visits to "the Cherokee towns." [12](KEGLEY-2, p.299)

Reference is also made to the same Captain Looney in connection with a "Holston tithable list taken in 1772 of Bledsoe's and Looney's companies..." and to the service of an Edward Morgan "who served 21 days under Captain David Looney and Lieutenant Daniel Boone in 1774." [13](KEGLEY-2, p.310)

Cora Pinkley Call

Cora Pinkley Call was a descendant of William and Fereby, who lived in Eureka Springs, Arkansas where she wrote about her ancestors, the Vaughans, Stones, and Harps. Cora Call said that her William Vaughan often crossed paths with his contemporary frontiersman, Daniel Boone. Although some of the stories and legends related to her about her Vaughans were unsubstantiated, there is the strong probability that this one has a basis in fact as we have seen from the preceding paragraphs concerning the service of both Boone and Vaughan in Captain David Looney's Company during Lord Dunmore's War of 1774. There are other stories handed down by Mrs. Call that have been corroborated, at least in a broad and general way. In some instances, the differences in truth and fact are slight and, in most every case, undoubtedly the errors were those that often occur when tales are handed down by word of mouth from one generation to another. At the same time the stories regarding the naming of the Boston Mountains and the town of Fayetteville in northwest Arkansas, remain very much in doubt, although many of the older Vaughan descendants in northwest Arkansas maintain that Old William did indeed name the mountains situated in that part of the Ozark National Forest between the northern Ozarks and the Ouachitas "Boston."

In her book, **Within My Ozark Valley**, Mrs. Call referred to her Harp and Vaughan ancestors as "long hunters" who made their way westward from their "home in Sweetens' Cove near Fayetteville, Tennessee." Most of what Mrs. Call knew about her kin was handed down to her, as she says, by her little great-granny, Molly Stone and her grandmother Nancy Harp. Although the male members of both families surely carried long rifles and hunted wild game for food and, although they may have stopped to rest in or near Fayetteville, Tennessee, no one has to my knowledge been able to find any evidence of their having ever lived in or near the Lincoln County area. Our Vaughans apparently resided in two parts of Tennessee - Hawkins County in the east and Warren and White Counties in the southern part of middle Tennessee. While there is a

place called Sweetens' Cove in Marion County on the east side of Monteagle, I have been unable to find any such place in the vicinity of Fayetteville which is the county seat of Lincoln County. With this dilemma in mind, I made a mental note to do some on-site research in Tennessee and I shall report my findings in due course.

It should be noted that, in the early 1790s, there were only seven counties in Tennessee. Sullivan and Washington Counties were in extreme eastern Tennessee. Hawkins County began in the east adjoining the western limit of Sullivan County, and extended south and west to a point just north of present-day Chattanooga. Greene County began in the east adjoining the southern and western edge of Washington County and lay between Hawkins County and the North Carolina line. Sumner, Davidson, and Tennessee Counties were the other three counties in 1790, with the northwestern corner of the latter county situated at the Kentucky border where the Tennessee River enters that state. Indian lands comprised the balance of the territory that is now the state of Tennessee.

Even in the early 1790s, the elongated Hawkins County did not extend as far west as present-day Lincoln County and Fayetteville. It did, however, include the territory in and around Sweetens' Cove near Monteagle, and Cora Call's family sources may have made generalized references to this mountainous area as a one-time home of the Tennessee Vaughans, perhaps casually suggesting that it was "near Fayetteville." This Sweetens' Cove is near Sweden's Creek on the east side of Monteagle in Marion County. It is about forty miles east of Fayetteville but still close enough to make the story plausible. I will have something further to say about this matter a little later in this chapter.

Throughout her writings, Call refers to William Vaughan as an Indian Trader. Lewis Vaughan says that other family sources also describe him in this manner. According to Call, William Vaughan met his bride-to-be while selling his trade goods to her Cherokee people in what is now western North Carolina.[14] (CALL-STAIRSTEP)

This version of their meeting has grains of truth. However, the place of their meeting and marriage is at this time unknown, and Fereby, who was referred to by Call as the Cherokee Princess, Fair-a-Bee Lunah, was in all probability, Fereby Benton, daughter of a lady whose maiden name was Looney, the latter said to have been a Cherokee. Having said this, let me alert the reader to the possibility - however remote it may be - that Cora Call was referring to two Williams: Fereby's husband, William Vaughan, and his father, William Patrick Vaughan, whom Call referred to as "Old William."

"Key Documents" In VAUGHAN PIONEERS

Lewis Vaughan has included at least two documents in Appendix A of his landmark volume, **VAUGHAN PIONEERS**, that merit special attention. Both of these statements were given in Madison County, Arkansas in 1892 to support the claim of George Washington Vaughan of right to citizenship in the Cherokee Nation. The first, sworn to on the 11th of May, 1892 by John C. Callico, states in part:

"...my age is seventy-five years, my Post Office address is Wesley, Arkansas, Madison County.

"In the matter of the claim of George W. Vaughan for citizenship or right in the Cherokee Nation, the affiant states as follows: I am personally acquainted with George W. Vaughan, and know him to be the son of Jackson Vaughan, whom I was also acquainted with, and know him to be the son of Samuel Vaughan, with whom I (was) personally acquainted. I knew him to be the son of Feriby Vaughan, who was my Grandmother, her maiden name being Feriby Benton. She married William Vaughan, my Grandfather. Feriby Benton was the daughter of my Great Grandmother Benton whose maiden name was Looney, who was Cherokee by blood.

"The affiant further states that Feriby Benton married William Vaughan in the Old Cherokee Nation in Tennessee. And Grandmother Vaughan told me or stated to me that her mother was Cherokee by blood, whose maiden name was Looney. I also heard Uncle Daniel Vaughan acknowledge to the Cherokee blood in him to a man named Lowell in 1828, who was selling goods at Cane Hill in Washington County which was a Territory at that time."

On the ninth day of June in 1892, Benjamin Vaughan signed an affidavit almost identical to the one signed by John C. Callico. However, several editorial changes apparently made that document suspect and, on the 27th day of October, 1892, at the Hindsville, Arkansas Post Office, Benjamin Vaughan gave a deposition in which he stated in part that he was then 77 years of age and his address was Clifty, Madison County, Arkansas.

Benjamin Vaughan's deposition also affirmed that he was "personally and well acquainted with the claimant" (George Washington Vaughan) and had been all the lifetime of the said claimant. He further stated, "...I was raised by my Grandparents, William Vaughan and Feriby Vaughan (nee Benton) and have heard my Grandfather talk to my Grandmother about being a Cherokee Indian by blood a great many times. And in fact it was a common talk in those days that my Grandmother was a Cherokee Indian by blood. I also became acquainted with a Cherokee Indian in my boyhood who was in the habit of visiting my Grandparents and who claimed to be a cousin of my Grandmother. The Indian's name - Looney Tol-lem-Tees-Key - and was a citizen of the Cherokee Nation...I was a grown up man at the time I knew him...I

have often heard the Roggers (John and James) say that the Vaughans should have a right in the Cherokee Nation and old Capt. John Roggers wanted the deponent to remain in the Cherokee Nation while the deponent was there, for the reason that the Vaughans were descendants of the Cherokee Indians by blood."

As Lewis Vaughan affirms, "the affidavits establish John C. Callico's and Benjamin Vaughan's direct descent from William and Fereby." Lewis also points out that the reference to a man named Lowell was corroborated in Goodspeed's History of Washington County which tells us that "the first stores on Cane Hill were opened by William Dugan and S. D. Lowell." [15](PIONEERS, pp. 319-321)

Benjamin Vaughan's statement that (Captain) John Roggers "wanted the deponent to remain in the Cherokee Nation while the deponent was there" has to do with the very early period of Vaughan settlement near Evansville in Washington County, Arkansas Territory, before the Indian title to that section had been extinguished. As Goodspeed tells us, "...being encroachers, their improvements were destroyed by the regular soldiers. In 1826 they removed to Cane Hill in Washington County where they were the first settlers, and in 1828 migrated to what is known as the Tuttle settlement on Richland." [16](GOODSPEED) What Captain Roggers was referring to here was the fact that the Vaughans had every right by reason of their Cherokee blood to remain in Indian Territory where they first settled on coming from Missouri into Arkansas Territory.

From the foregoing it should be noted that no reference was made to William Vaughan's "Cherokee ancestry" but rather only to that of his wife, Feriby (Fereby). If William had Indian blood - Cherokee or otherwise - it would seem that these grandchildren would have heard about it in family conversations just as they learned of Fereby's Cherokee connection through her mother who was probably a Looney, although not necessarily Malinda Looney as claimed by at least one Vaughan descendant. It would seem that we are justified, at this point at least, in stating that William Vaughan was probably of pure Welsh descent unless, of course, he was a second generation American, having been born here to a Welsh father and a presently unknown mother. While we may not have added anything in the way of clues to William's port of entry or to anything that would aid us in identifying an original emigre' ancestor, at least we may now hypothesize with some degree of certainty that William himself was not part Indian, but he married a woman, Fereby, who was.

Everyone who addresses the subject of Vaughans in Northwest Arkansas is enchanted with Benjamin Vaughan, patriarch of a vast clan of Vaughans in Madison County. Mickey Weise, who married one of his descendants (Kenneth Vaughan), was so taken with him that she wrote and published

a book about Benjamin, his wife Cherubia Harp Vaughan, and their descendants. Although no one has to this date succeeded in positively identifying his parents, Benjamin himself stated under oath that William and Fereby were his grandparents. As to the place and date of his birth, most family researchers have agreed that he was born "somewhere in Tennessee" probably in March of 1815. Mickey's book gives the first of March as the date while Lewis Vaughan lists the third day of March. Lewis also provides us with a compelling argument that would seem to indicate that Benjamin's father was John Vaughan's son James, and his mother, Martha, William and Fereby's daughter. Based on available census records, Lewis Vaughan suggests that Martha probably was the child preceding Daniel in the household of William and Fereby. This would then lead us to surmise that she was born sometime between 1777 and 1787 in Russell County, Virginia, and in all probability a year or so before the birth of Daniel, possibly around 1786. The 1870 census had Martha, age 83, living in the household of son Benjamin in Washington County, Arkansas. This, of course, would place the year of her birth at 1786-87.

Of the eleven children born to John and Nancy Callicot Vaughan, James was born 15 October 1795. Although the parents apparently continued to live in Hawkins County, both James and his brother Beverly followed William and Fereby into White County, Tennessee. James would have been 20 years old, and Martha 29 in 1815, assuming that to be the year of the birth of Benjamin. Of this age difference and the possibility of a close genetic relationship between James and Martha, we have no particular comment or explanation. Assuming James and Martha were the parents of Benjamin, and assuming further that he was born in 1815, then it appears likely that his arrival took place while the couple resided in White County, although this too is speculative.

Daniel sold his White County property 18 September 1816 and both he and William moved on into (old) Wayne County Missouri, probably that same year. Meanwhile, James and Martha and James' brother Beverly Vaughan remained in White County at least until after 1820 when both were still maintaining separate households in that part of Tennessee. Nearby was William and Fereby's daughter, Elizabeth Callico.

James seems to have fathered several sons including Benjamin, William, and Maborne, and probably Elijah and John. After separating from Martha around 1821, James remarried. Little else is presently known about him. Although the 1840 census places him in Washington County in Arkansas, his brother Benjamin stated in a deposition which he gave back in Hawkins County, Tennessee, on the 28th day of May in 1858 that the last he heard about James he was in Texas and Beverly was in Arkansas.

Benjamin married Cherubia Harp around 1835-36. Cherubia was born 7 September 1817 and, although little is known

about her parents, it seems a safe assumption that she was a descendant of one of the Harps who either accompanied or followed the Vaughans on their trek from Tennessee into Arkansas. Although this couple did not accumulate large land holdings in northwest Arkansas as did some of their kinsmen, they rather uncharacteristically "stayed put" after moving into their new home near Clifty in 1860. Before making that final move, they raised a large family while living in Prairie Township in Washington County and in Huntsville where he served for a time as sheriff of Madison County. Lewis Vaughan lists seven children, including Mary (b 1838), George W. (b 1840), Elizabeth (b 1841), James Polk (b 1845), Allen W. (b 1847), Pleasant (b 1849), and Nancy (b 1852).

Through the years, Benjamin Vaughan devoted a great deal of his time to public service. In addition to serving as Madison County Sheriff on three different occasions (1848-58, 1867-68, and 1876-78), he also served as assessor (1867-68 and 1872-76), and as state representative for Madison County (1858-60), and for the Madison-Marion-Carroll County District (1868-70).

For much of the information contained in this section on Benjamin and Cherubia Harp Vaughan, we are indebted once more to Lewis Vaughan as well as Mickey Weise Vaughan whose book **The Vaughans, Volume I** provides a wealth of information on this couple and their descendants. Anyone desiring to learn more about these Vaughans should endeavor to obtain copies of both of these books.
[17] (PIONEERS), and [18] (MICKEY)

On page 6 of an 8-page letter of February 15, 1973 which I wrote to Mickey (Mrs. Kenneth Vaughan) then living at Route 3, Huntsville, Arkansas, is the following: "Page 201 of the **Indian Trade Commissioner's Journal**, 1716-1718, refers to the ordering of payments of monies for 'services' in connection with the delivery of skins to '...John Carney, John Christian, William Parrott, Hugh Camell, and William Vaughan, the Sum of Fifteen Pounds of current Money, (each), amounting in the whole to Seventy-five Pounds of current Money, for thirty days' service of each of them, as aforesaid.'" To this paragraph is appended the notation, "(Somewhere in the Virginia Colony)," but there is no date. The journal's date precludes the possibility that this was our William, but one is caused to speculate on the possibility that this certain individual may have been his father. Our William Vaughan undoubtedly engaged in trade with Indians, the Cherokee in particular and, in all probability, he ranged throughout North Carolina and Virginia while pursuing this work. I have often personally wondered if our William may have learned his trade from a father or other close relative who was also engaged in this sort of business. It seems to me that he was too adept to have learned his craft straight off a boat from Wales. At the time of our correspondence, Mickey was then researching

her husband's family, preparing to write her book on the Vaughans. In that book, Mickey gives the date of birth of Benjamin's wife, Cherubia A. Harp, as 17 September 1817, and she refers to her as being "closely related to John Harp who came to Arkansas from Sweadens Cove, Tennessee in the early 1830s." [19] (MICKEY, p.2)

Fereby Benton Vaughan (ca 1750-1855)

Lewis Vaughan concluded that William Vaughan's bride was Fereby Benton, daughter of a man named Benton who married a woman whose maiden name was Looney. Fair-a-Bee is not the name used by Fereby as an adult although this may have been the form of the name passed on to Mrs. Call when, as a child, she said she listened to stories told her by her Granny (great-grandmother) Molly Stone. Call stated that the name Fair-a-Bee-Lunah was the Cherokee-English way of referring to her as "fairer than the moon." Although most of the later references to her use the name Fereby, we should note that it is entirely possible that the original idea in naming her was to confer upon her an appelation such as Fairer-than-the-moon, in which case later changes could have been made in the way her name was spelled. At the same time, one may also reason that Mrs. Call's Great Granny Molly Stone had been mistakenly told that William's wife was named Fereby Looney instead of Fereby Benton, and this is where the confused spelling and the legend about her name had its genesis. There are, after all, records in which Fereby is spelled as Feriby, Ferby, Ferebe, and even Phoebe, among others. The name Fereby, in one spelling variant or the other, was later re-used as the Christian name for several other female descendants of William and Fereby Vaughan but it is rarely found in records other than those of the Vaughan descendants of our William and Fereby. This leads into some interesting areas of genealogical speculation. For example, one Vaughan descendant, Robert W. Helton of 5739 North 98th Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the mid 1970s submitted a query to an eastern Kentucky genealogical journal seeking further information about his ancestors James and Faribe Helton Vaughan.

This James Vaughan was "born in Virginia about 1812," according to Robert Helton. "His parents are unknown but his father was also born in Virginia. The birthplace of his mother is unknown. James married Faribe Helton, a sister of Shadrack Helton. She (Faribe Helton) was born in Kentucky about 1826. James and Faribe Vaughn lived at Wallins Creek, Harlan County, Kentucky. The dates they passed away are unknown but both were living in 1880." [20] (HELTON)

Ten children were listed for this union, including their fourth child, Elizabeth, who married Carter Helton. This couple had twelve children, their eleventh a daughter named Faribe. The sixth child born to James and Faribe Helton

Vaughan was John. One of his children was also christened Faribe (b 1877). Not only is Faribe of interest as one more spelling variant on the rather unique name, but we should also take note of the use of the Christian name, Shadrack, both leaving one to wonder about the probability that these families and the family of our William and Fereby were at least acquainted if not related. This James Vaughan (Helton used the spelling variant Vaughn) would have been born at or about the same time as our James, son of Thomas Vaughan and Nancy Ford Vaughan who, by this time (1814) had settled in Cabell County, Virginia. All of these families resided in and around the Appalachian ridges separating the present-day states of Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia, really within a rather narrowly defined region. When one considers the extensive ramblings of these and other pioneers of this time and place and their propensity for following similar routes into and out of southwestern Virginia, the likelihood that they knew of each other is high, to say the least, and indeed they may have been related by blood.

The name Fereby in one or more forms was used and re-used by descendants of our William and Fereby, beginning with the sixth child born to Thomas and Nancy Ford Vaughan. Their daughter Phoebe, born May 8, 1806, was also known as Ferabe. The fourth child born to Elizabeth Vaughan Smith and John Smith was christened Pheriba around 1823 as was the fourth child of Martha Vaughan Lycan and Goodwin Lycan (b April 22, 1826). The name was also used by Vaughan descendants on into the later 1800s: Pheribe A. Hatten, born September 2, 1840 to Sarah Smith Hatten and Jonah Hatten; Ferebe Powell, born August 8, 1843 to Nancy Smith Powell and Burr Powell; Pherabe Herrilla Smith, born January 14, 1852 to Edmund McGinnis Smith and Jane Curnutte Smith; Pheraby J. Lycan, born ca 1858 to Andrew Lycan and Emeretta McComas Lycan; and Pherabe A. Vaughan, born ca 1854 to Ephraim Vaughan and Amy Lambert Vaughan. [21] (PIONEERS)

As we have learned, both John Callico and Benjamin Vaughan, a grandson of William and Fereby, gave sworn depositions in 1892 to support claims of Indian rights for George Washington Vaughan. Although other family traditions maintain that Fereby was the granddaughter of the John Looney prominent in Cherokee affairs during the early 19th century, Lewis Vaughan reminds us that this particular John Looney was born around 1774 and would, therefore, have been a somewhat younger contemporary of Fereby. However, we should add that the John Looney referred to by those who gave these depositions was probably not meant to be the John Looney born in 1774 but, in all likelihood, an earlier John Looney who was born around 1700. There are numerous references to a John Looney, who was somewhat younger than Fereby Benton, in recorded histories of the Western Cherokees. This John Looney was one of nine chiefs who on May 28, 1828 signed the "Treaty With the Western Cherokee."

Eleven years later, on August 23, 1839, the same John Looney presided as Acting Principal Chief of the Western Cherokee at the signing of the "Act of Union Between the Eastern and Western Cherokees." [22](STARR, pp.71, 122)

One family source is said to have claimed that James Benton was Fereby's father; others aver that Fereby was either the daughter or granddaughter of John Looney (the earlier John Looney); if this latter assertion is true, which is entirely plausible, then James Benton married a daughter of the first John Looney, and this couple became the parents of Fereby Benton who married our William Vaughan. It should be noted, however, as we have indicated throughout this book, the names of Fereby's parents and grandparents are at this point in time unknown. However, as Lewis Vaughan states, the marriage of Fereby and William probably took place after he left the New River area, either in a civil ceremony or in the Cherokee tradition as some family members have suggested. Their first child was this writer's great-great-grandfather, Thomas, who was born around 1773.

Some Fact, Some Fancy

A Vaughan descendant whose great grandfather was Allen T. Vaughan, sent this writer an ancestral chart listing not only the parents of Fereby but the mother and father of William as well. That chart has James Benton as the father of Fereby (Pherabe) Benton, and Malinda Looney as her mother, with a question mark appended to the latter. Each of the candidates for William's parents was entered with a question mark indicating that neither had been proven; William's father is given as William Patrick Vaughan, and his mother as Mary Simmonds. Undoubtedly the former name was picked up by someone at some point from one of the Cora Call books or from **Voices Of Old Men** by Henry Scalf. It should be emphasized that neither of these four names has been substantiated as the parents of William and Fereby. If I may make a candid observation - even a confession - it is entirely possible that a query which I directed to Henry Scalf may have had something to do with some later misunderstandings. In September of 1976, Scalf published a letter I had written in his "Journal of Genealogy and History", **The East Kentuckian**, Volume XII, Number II. I shall summarize that material here in an attempt to set the record straight and to illustrate how important it is in genealogical matters to clearly indicate, even to reiterate on a regular basis, when names, dates, and places are unconfirmed. Even then it is likely that someone will pick up a conjectural or speculative bit of information and start using it as though it were factual.

My letter of inquiry was clearly labeled as such. In the published version, I summarized accounts of the marriage of

"Welsh trader" William Patrick Vaughan to the Cherokee Princess, Fair-a-Bee-Lunah, as told in Scalf's pamphlet, **Voices of Old Men**. Scalf, as I indicated, relied on the Call books and on printed records from The Floyd County Times. In my letter I made repeated reference to these sources with wording such as "from this account" and "according to court testimony" when referring to the Scalf or Call books or, in the case of the latter, to court testimony given in the Hokiashe Estate proceedings in Kentucky and Oklahoma around 1942-1946. It should also be noted that, at the time of the publication of my letter (in 1976) I had been engaged in an exchange of correspondence with Vaughan-descendant Charles Thompson of Detroit, Michigan, and with Lewis Vaughan. Quotations from my letters to and from them were used but not all of them were reproduced and the sources and nature of my letters were not always made clear. What I was trying to do, as should have been apparent by the superabundance of questions I posed, was to present my information in tentative fashion, hoping to attract the attention of others who could then either substantiate or refute what I had to say. This, after all, is the nature and function of genealogical periodicals to a great extent. These purposes are well-served generally, but errors can begin to creep in and become accepted as fact unless each of us is careful to emphasize the nature of the matters we discuss. Errors may occur through misreading or misunderstanding what we read, or through our own extrapolation. It should be clear throughout this work that a number of unsubstantiated matters are under consideration. One of the major purposes in writing and publishing this book is to invite further investigation and discovery.

With the preceding preamble, let us address certain aspects of the Scalf publication, particularly as it concerns the matter of William and Fereby Vaughan. In **Voices**, Scalf tells a story of Nellie Burchett, widow of Osage Indian Clarence Hokiashee, and how she went about the business of proving that she had Indian blood from her Vaughan ancestors who went all the way back to one Ayres T. Vaughan (1742-1842). A marker at the grave of "Gransire" Ayres T. Vaughan in the small Vaughan Cemetery near Patrick Swirl overlooking the Big Sandy River in Floyd County, Kentucky confirms those dates. Although the litigation continued over a period of several years, both in eastern Kentucky and in eastern Oklahoma, the case was finally resolved in favor of Mrs. Hokiashe, resulting in the awarding of the estate of Clarence Hokiashe to her and her daughter. In gaining the favorable verdict, attorneys relied on the testimony of older male descendants of Ayres Vaughan whose life and times are undisputed facts. Having said this much, we enter some rather murky waters so far as Vaughan family history is concerned.

Scalf seems to have relied mostly on the writings of Mrs. Call in telling his story about the Welsh trader, William Patrick Vaughan and his Cherokee bride, "Fair-a-Bee-Lunah." According to Scalf, there were "two sons, probably others, and several daughters" born to this union, the eldest being Ayres T., early settler and scion of numerous progeny in eastern Kentucky, and the other son, William, who eventually became one of the earliest pioneers in northwest Arkansas. According to Scalf, "Ayres Vaughan, eldest son of William Patrick Vaughan and Fair-a-Bee-Lunah, had left the ancestral acres long before his brothers and sisters migrated to Arkansas. They never knew where he went." [23] (VOICES, p.5)

Once more we have fact mixed with fiction, or at least with unsubstantiated conjectural matter. Court proceedings proved to everyone's satisfaction that Ayres' unnamed wife bore him several children, including William W. who, in turn, produced a son Patrick who married Susanna Hatfield (1819), a daughter Susannah who married Andrew Riddle (1837), Elizabeth who married William Crider (1841), and Leroy who was said to most resemble his Indian ancestors. There is much more of a factual nature in this small book. However, the point I wish to make and emphasize here is the unsubstantiated nature of the claim that Ayres T. Vaughan was the eldest son - or indeed that he was actually a son - of Call's "Old William" Vaughan and Fair-a-Bee whom Scalf and Call apparently refer to as William Patrick Vaughan and Fair-a-Bee-Lunah. Although neither Call nor Scalf say so in so many words, the implication is clear that they regarded Ayres T. Vaughan as a slightly older brother of our William Vaughan who married Fereby Benton, and Call and Scalf would have as their parents William Patrick Vaughan and his Indian Princess bride, Fair-a-Bee Lunah. Although none of this is substantiated, there is enough of the could-be in it to warrant holding it in abeyance as a possibility. Call, for whatever reason, seemed to have strong feelings that Old William and his wife returned to their ancestral home in Tennessee where they died and were buried. It's worth looking into. Meanwhile, Lewis Vaughan has established beyond reasonable doubt that both our William and Fereby died and were buried in northwest Arkansas.

More About Fereby

During Lewis Vaughan's early research, Mrs. Roger Reed of Springfield, Missouri, a descendant of Samuel Vaughn's son, George Washington Vaughan and his first wife, said that, according to information handed down in her family, Fereby Vaughan was a granddaughter of John Looney who was 3/4 Cherokee and lived in Bradley County, Tennessee. Fereby was Ferety, according to Mrs. Reed who also told Lewis that John Looney's name appeared on the Cherokee Roll and Treaty of

July 8, 1817. After the removal of the Cherokees to Oklahoma, he was said to have lived south of Tahlequah, Oklahoma.

In 1976 the Bradley County Historical Society published a History of Bradley County which includes an interesting account of life in the Cherokee Nation in east Tennessee during the early to late 1700s. We quote:

"After the Cherokee drove out the Yuchi in 1714, their predominance in the southeastern corner of Tennessee was uninterupted until after the Treaty of Removal in 1835. Only two Cherokee towns, Tsistetsiyi and Chestoee Old Town, existed within present county boundaries; however, four Cherokee villages were located in Polk County, once a part of Bradley County. Tsistetsiyi was located on South Mouse Creek in present-day Bradley County. The four Cherokee towns once located in present-day Polk County were Great Hiwassee, situated on the north bank of Hiwassee River at the present Savannah Ford above Columbus; Kawanuny, near present-day Ducktown; Ocoee, on the Ocoee River near its junction with the Hiwassee; and Tsistoyi, located on the north bank of the Hiwassee River at the entrance of Chestua Creek. Chestoee Old Town was located on the Hiwassee River, one mile below where the Ocoee River flows into the Hiwassee River.

"The civilizing influence of white men on the Overhill Cherokee settlements in southeastern Tennessee can be traced back before 1690 when trading activities were initiated by ambitious Virginia and South Carolina traders."

During the period when our William and his Indian bride Fereby were at large in and around the people of the Cherokee Nation in east Tennessee, the white man made and subsequently broke three treaties: The First Treaty of Tellico, dated 2 October 1798; The Third Treaty of Tellico, 25 October 1805; and Calhoun's Treaty of 27 February 1819. During the administration of John Ross as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation (1828-1866), the final removal to the west occurred (1835). [24](BRADLEY, pp. 6,7)

The widely respected genealogical records administered by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints failed to turn up anything on our William and Fereby. We then asked the Global Research people in Salt Lake City to do a survey for us, concentrating on anything they might find on a William Vaughan in Virginia and the Cherokee Nation around 1770. In their report they noted that our Thomas Vaughan was born in 1773 in a "place listed as Cherokee, Swain, North Carolina." The report writer, Lynn Ann Ward, added, "...we can only guess that this means what is now Cherokee, Swain County, then Cherokee Indian Territory."

Their research uncovered no early Vaughans in the land records of Montgomery County (then Fincastle), and none prior to the creation of Fincastle County for the years 1770-1773, and none in Botetourt County. Other early Vaughans in Virginia were a Mr. Vaughn of Amelia County who

died in 1801 and who had been employed around 1740 "as a packman to go with Indian traders to the Cherokee Nation." One other Vaughan of interest was a William Vaughan who in 1758 "was paid for conducting soldiers to Fredericksburg." Our interest is, of course, piqued by the mention of Swain County, North Carolina as the possible county in which our Thomas was born in 1773. However, the scarcity of records in that time and place and in those circumstances dampens our enthusiasm somewhat for a possible new discovery of the origins of Fereby or the place of her marriage to William. The researcher anticipated our reaction to the news concerning William Vaughan of 1758. She posed two excellent questions: "Could your William have followed in his father's footsteps as a trader or explorer? When he was old enough did he accompany his father?" [25](GLOBAL)

The matter of William Vaughan's guiding soldiers to Fredericksburg in 1758 is mentioned on page 257 of **Kegley's Virginia Frontier**. Page 40 of Summers' **History of Southwest Virginia** contains the reference to Mr. Vaughn of Amelia County.

Two Williams?

In the Scalf and Call versions, as we have seen, there apparently were two William Vaughans who were prominent in the settling of northwest Arkansas - the elder William Patrick who explored northwest Arkansas but returned with his wife, Fair-a-Bee-Lunah, to die and be buried near their Tennessee home, and a son, William, who remained in northwest Arkansas with his family. Although there can be no doubt that Ayres T. Vaughan was a contemporary of our William (he was born in 1742 and our William around 1750), we have no way of knowing if the two were born to the same parents and, if they were, at this writing we have no clues as to the identity of those parents. Scalf and Call named them William Patrick Vaughan and Fair-a-Bee-Lunah Vaughan. If this should prove to be factual, we then have something of a dual dilemma, namely how did our William end up marrying a woman with the same or a similar Christian name as that of his mother - Fereby Benton - and where did William Patrick come from? Neither of these is necessarily unanswerable or completely implausible. It is possible that Fereby Benton could have been named for William Patrick's Fair-a-Bee who, perhaps, was someone her Benton and Looney ancestors knew and admired. And our William's father could have been a very real flesh-and-blood William Patrick who, in turn, may be the missing link from Wales. We just don't know at this point. However, in closing this portion of our exposition, it should be further noted that, to our knowledge, no one in the Hokiashe court proceedings gave any testimony in which the names of Ayres' parents were referred to as William Patrick Vaughan and Fair-a-Bee-Lunah. If and

when someone is able to resolve our mystery and discover the original Welsh emigre' Vaughan, readers of these and other hypothetical matters should bear in mind the nature of our quest at the time this was being written.

As we have seen, Mrs. Call maintained that there were two Williams. She believed that Old William (Patrick) and his wife (Fair-a-Bee) returned to their Tennessee home near Sweetens Cove where they died and were buried, while their son, William, remained in northwest Arkansas. If this be the case, does Call mean to imply that this William was a brother of the other three, or their father? If the latter, what was the name of this William's wife?

At this point, I must state that I am inclined to differ with Lewis Vaughan in one respect, namely the likelihood that William Vaughan came to this country, probably from someplace in Wales, in the early 1770s, possibly arriving "at Philadelphia or another port, and proceeding thence down the Valley of Virginia." If he indeed was our original Welsh emigre' ancestor - and this is entirely possible - then I would prefer to believe that the date of his arrival in this country would have been even earlier, at least no later than 1770; otherwise, it seems to me, he could not have had time to become so familiar with the ways of his newly adopted land and its people, particularly the American Indians with whom he had become intimately involved. I am inclined to believe that William Vaughan may have been born in this country, his father being the original Welshman who came here from the old country. The matters discussed in this particular paragraph are - and, hopefully the reader will keep this in mind - purely a matter of conjecture on my part. I shall return to a consideration of these and other possibilities in my final chapter.

At least one genealogist has expressed concern over the apparent migratory path of our William Vaughan, complaining that his moving from North Carolina to Russell County, Virginia and then back to Hawkins County, Tennessee does not fit the normal pattern of migration of the time. Perhaps it does not, but William was a Welshman who engaged in wide-ranging trade with the Indians. These migratory habits of his are of no great concern to those of us who have become accustomed to examining the evidence of his restless ways. The fact is he did indeed move from a meeting up with Fereby somewhere in the Cherokee Nation in what was then North Carolina (all of present-day Tennessee was then North Carolina), back to western Virginia, a territory which was to him perhaps more familiar, followed by service during Dunmore's War in the western section of Virginia where the young couple later purchased land (in present-day Russell County), leading ultimately to their westward migration into Hawkins County, Tennessee, a stopover with sons in White and Warren Counties in Tennessee, a brief sojourn into Missouri, and final settlement in northwestern Arkansas.

The fact that white settlers along the Holston and Watauga Rivers in northeastern Tennessee could not own land then occupied by the Cherokee may have led to William's decision to return to western Virginia following his marriage to Fereby. The Battle of Alamance in 1771 and subsequent changes in regulations regarding the ownership of these lands resulted in the opening up of that territory to white settlement in 1772, followed in 1775 with the signing of a private treaty between the Cherokees and the owners of the Transylvania Company at Sycamore Shoals which further broke down the barriers to white settlement in most of Kentucky and eastern Tennessee.

1774-1783

Lewis Vaughan was unable to discover any records concerning the whereabouts of William and Fereby Vaughan for the nine years from 1774 to 1783, with the exception of a brief period of military service during Lord Dunmore's Indian War in 1774. Furthermore, all of their children except Samuel were born either before or after the American Revolution. The Cherokee, it should be noted, were allies of the British and, as Lewis Vaughan points out, it is possible that William left the Cherokee nation and that he and Fereby lived apart for the duration of the American Revolution. Although the Tretower Vaughans of southern Wales were loyalists, one would prefer to believe that William was not. Cora Call may hold a clue as to William's whereabouts during this period. Call said that William ranged far and wide on scouting expeditions in Kentucky, Tennessee and northwest Arkansas, even crossing paths with Daniel Boone on one or more occasions. Could the fact that William and Fereby chose to name their next-born son Daniel have any significance? As we shall see, William Vaughan and Daniel Boone both served for brief periods of time in the same company during Lord Dunmore's War. It should be noted that a few years after the beginning of the nineteenth century, William and Fereby packed up, bag and baggage, and moved their family to northwest Arkansas, stopping briefly in White County, Tennessee and in Missouri. Could William have made his preliminary scouting expeditions into that territory during his Revolutionary War hiatus? But first, there was Lord Dunmore's War in 1774.

Records show that William Vaughan served for a period of 35 days in Captain David Looney's company during Lord Dunmore's War. Records show that he was paid by (then) Lieutenant John Cox. Most of those on the pay list, including our William Vaughan and Daniel Boone, were also named on a list prepared by Captain John Montgomery. I obtained a copy of **DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF DUNMORE'S WAR - 1774** from which I gleaned several anecdotal records that may prove helpful in gaining further insight into conditions

prevailing at the time of William Vaughan's military service. In reflecting on these accounts of Dunmore's War, it would be well to bear in mind that William Vaughan was then around 24 years of age, married to Fereby Benton who was part Cherokee, living in or around present-day Russell County, Virginia, and he was probably descended from Welsh Vaughans who had a long history of loyal service to the Crown of England. He - and other pioneer families of that time and place - had mixed feelings about where they should place their loyalty, trust, and allegiance. This must have been particularly true of men like William Vaughan who had married women of Indian blood. (The single word, DUNMORE'S shall be used when references are made to **DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF DUNMORE'S WAR - 1774** as published in 1989 by Heritage Books of Bowie, Maryland.)

John Murray was born in Scotland in 1732. He became Earl of Dunmore in 1756 at age twenty-four. He subsequently was named Viscount Fincastle, Baron of Blair, Baron of Monlin, and Baron of Tillimet before being appointed Governor of New York in 1770. Two years later, in 1772, Murray - then known as Lord Dunmore - became the last colonial governor of Virginia.

The hallmark of the administration of Dunmore (nee John Murray) as Governor of Virginia was Lord Dunmore's War of 1774, fought chiefly against the Shawnee Indians who had sought to preserve their ancient hunting lands lying along and west of the mountains of Appalachia and south of the Ohio River. The white settlers who encroached upon the Indian hunting grounds were characterized by Dunmore as a people who "acquire no attachment to Place: but wandering about Seems engrafted in their nature; and it is a weakness incident to it, that they Should forever imagine the Lands further off, are Still better than those upon which they are already settled." [25] (DUNMORE'S, p.x)

While most of the members of the Delaware Indian tribe remained neutral, thanks largely to the peacekeeping efforts of Moravian missionaries, the Shawnee regarded the territory south of the Ohio as their private hunting ground. Although the murder of Daniel Boone's son, James, and Henry Russell in Powell's Valley is sometimes said to have been the match that ignited the fuse and started the war in October of 1773, the Shawnee's resentment of the white man's incursions had been smoldering for more than a decade previous to that incident. There had been other Indian uprisings including an attack on Draper's Meadows which took the life of Colonel James Patton, the abduction of the Draper and Ingles family, and the massacre of settlers at Greenbriar by the Shawnee Chief Cornstalk. All of these tragedies, although provoked by white expansion to the west, served to set the stage for Virginia Governor Lord Dunmore to act in defense of his citizens. By mid-year 1773, reports came to the Virginia capital at Williamsburg that the enemy had penetrated to

within thirty miles of Botetourt courthouse endangering the lives of all the settlers on the Holston and Clinch Rivers. Lord Dunmore then called out the militia in all of the western counties, and the war had begun.

A principal player in the War of 1774 was Colonel William Preston of Fincastle which then encompassed a good part of western Virginia, all of present-day Kentucky, and most of what is now West Virginia. Preston's first concern was for the welfare of surveyors who had been sent out to Kentucky. He authorized Captain William Russell, who lived alongside the Clinch River, to send Daniel Boone and Michael Stoner to warn the surveyors and others then living north and west of Clinch of the likelihood that the Shawnee would now wage an all-out war against all whites. Although the war lasted little more than a year, it served to end the matter of organized hostile retaliation by the Indians against the westward migration of the white settlers, at least south of the Ohio. Bands of renegade Indians would continue to harrass the settlers on into the nineteenth century, but the Shawnee were destined to be put down as a threat to the white settler's peace during Dunmore's War. It is against this backdrop that we place William Vaughan in 1774.

Captains of Militia for Fincastle County under Colonel William Preston were William Herbert, Walter Crockett, Stephen Trigg, and James Robertson, the latter of Augusta, not the Nashville pioneer from Wautauga. Others serving in similar roles included Captain Evan Shelby who was born in Wales in 1720 and who was said to have engaged in trading with the Indians of the region, and William Russell, a subaltern Captain under Colonel Preston. In one of his letters to his superior, Russell relates how he sought to spread the word of impending warfare:

"I have Engaged to start Immediately, on the occasion, two of the best Hands I could think of Danl. Boone, and Michl. Stoner; who have Engaged to search the Country, as low as the falls, and to return by way of Gasper's Lick, on Cumberland, and thro' Cumberland Gap: so that by the assiduity of these Men, if it is not too late, I hope the Gentlemen will be apprised of the eminent Danger they are Daily in." [26](DUNMORE'S, p.51)

This letter to Colonel William Preston was dated "Clynch Sunday June the 26th, 1774" and was signed "W. Russell." The "falls" were the Falls of the Ohio at Louisville. "Gasper's Lick" was said to be Mansco's Lick or Casper's Lick, so-named for Casper Mansker. Both he and Michael Stoner were prominent in the early settlement of the area near Harmon's Station on the Levisa (Louisa) Fork of the Big Sandy River. Still later, Stoner joined the Robertson Party from Wautauga on their pioneering venture which resulted in the eventual settlement of Nashville on the banks of the Cumberland in Tennessee.

Major Arthur Campbell is another source of interesting information of the period. In a July-1774 memorandum to his superior, Colonel Preston, Campbell told of Cherokees murdering their traders, meaning the white men who brought them trade goods. Yet another source of names and places and dates is Preston's peer, Colonel William Christian whose memorandum of July 4th, 1774 to Preston mentions James and Henry Skaggs and John Draper, names - like the Harmons, Stoners, and Manskers - familiar as early pioneers in eastern Kentucky.

Another dispatch to Colonel Preston from Major Campbell, under the date August 10, 1774, was sent out in the care of "Captain Looney" who, without question is Captain David Looney of whom Campbell says, "I cannot think of any Officer on this River that will suit so well," referring to his suitability for a forthcoming expedition.[27] (DUNMORE'S, p.136) A footnote describes the Looneys as "a well-known pioneer family of southwest Virginia." In response to Campbell's message, Colonel Preston advised the major that he had instructed Captain Looney to raise a Company in such manner "as not to interfere with any of the Captains already appointed."

Captain David Looney almost assuredly had business dealings with Daniel Boone as this excerpt from a message of August 28, 1774 from Major Campbell to Colonel Preston would seem to indicate:

"I have good reason to believe Mr. Boon will get all in Capt. Looneys Company that intended to go with Bledsoe...I have been informed that Mr. Boon tract (sic) a small party of Indians from Cumberland Gap to near the Settlement."[28] (DUNMORE'S, p.171)

On that same date, Captain William Russell advised Colonel Preston that he had encountered Mr. Boone who overtook him to inform him of his return from his spying expedition to the Falls of the Ohio.

Another Campbell-to-Preston dispatch, this one dated Saturday, October 1, 1774, tells of some of the action on the western front:

"Last Thursday (Sept. 29) between sunset and dark, three Men was fired at within 300 Yds (Of) Moors Fort on Clinch one John Duncom was shot dead on the Spot; and Scalped, altho a party of Men ran out of the Fort to the place as soon as the Guns fired; The Indians ran off and Night prevented them being followed. The Express came of(f) next morning early. Mr. Boone was preparing to go in search of the Enemy. Mr. Boone also informs me that the Indians has been frequently about Blackmores, since the Negroes was taken; And Capt. Looney has so few Men that he cannot venture to go in pursuit of them, having only eleven Men. I have no Word yet from Doack, Thompson, Montgomery or Cox, and indeed I am afraid there will few if any come..."[29] (DUNMORE'S, p219-220)

Montgomery and Cox are Captain John Montgomery and Captain John Cox, the latter having paid William Vaughan during his service in Captain David Looney's company. Whether William engaged in any of this action during his brief 35-day service is unknown. Much of this took place along the Clinch River in and around the forts at Glade-Hollow, Elk Garden, and Maiden Spring, all in present-day Russell County, Virginia, where William and Fereby later owned land, the last of which they disposed of in 1797.

The militia in which William Vaughan and other "civilian" residents served was made up mostly of men like themselves who left their families to take up arms (usually their own privately owned muskets) to serve in Lord Dunmore's War which was fought mostly against the belligerent Shawnee Indians. Even their Captains were home-grown recruits, including William's commanding officer, Captain David Looney. On October 13, Major Campbell sent Daniel Boone with a dispatch to Colonel Preston in which he said that he had "some disgust at Capt. Looney for being away at home the time of the late alarm, which he pleads in excuse that he wanted to see to the safety of his own Family, when Roberts was Killed in his Neighborhood." [30] (DUNMORE'S, p.250)

The "Roberts" referred to was John Roberts who lived on Reedy Creek, a tributary of the North Fork of Holston in present-day Sullivan County, Tennessee. He, his wife, and several children were killed by marauding Indians in September of 1774.

Little of this sheds any light on exactly when in 1774 William Vaughan served his 35 days in Captain David Looney's company of militia. It does give us some insight into circumstances, conditions, and attitudes then prevalent in western Virginia, but it raises more questions than it answers. If Thomas was born in 1773, then John must have been conceived shortly after his birth; or, if John was born in 1775, then he could have been conceived during one of William's long "leaves of absence" from Lord Dunmore's War. Samuel, born around 1776, was most likely the last child born to William and Fereby until Martha and Daniel came along in or around 1787. Was Fereby Benton's mother, who was a Looney, related to Captain David Looney? If so, what was that relationship? The reader may recall a previous reference in this book to the assertion by one Vaughan that Fereby's mother was a Malinda Looney, but this name is unsubstantiated. Where were William and Fereby during the years from 1776 to 1783? Did William continue to be loyal to England? If so, where did he go during the American Revolution? Some loyalists went to Canada. Did William go to Canada or did he remain neutral, secluding himself in some remote region of the Appalachian Mountains that he knew so well? Or did he, like John Vaughan of Maryland, join the cause against the British?

At this point, we simply do not know the answers to the questions we have posed but we shall reexamine the evidence in a later chapter.

1783-1797

According to Lewis Vaughan, William and Fereby Benton Vaughan's first-born was Thomas (ca 1773); their second, John (ca 1774-75); their third, Samuel (ca 1776); their fourth, Daniel (ca 1787); their fifth, William (ca 1789); and their sixth and only known daughter, Elizabeth (ca 1790). As Lewis acknowledges, there may have been others. The reader may observe that at least five of the six known children were born before our nation's first president took the oath of office in New York on the 30th of April in 1789. Record-keeping during Colonial times had been a chancy thing at best, fair in coastal cities, depending mostly on the whims of parrish ministers, and virtually non-existent in frontier America which included the far-western reaches of Virginia where our young couple resided. This matter was little improved following the founding of the new nation. Until our first federal census was commissioned in 1790, we simply had no way to know who lived where in this country. The information we have concerning this little family came to us much later, mostly through later census records, and it is ours today largely through the diligent efforts of our own Lewis Vaughan.

Shortly before the birth of Daniel, William and Fereby went to the Clinch River Valley in what is now Russell County, Virginia, and remained there from 1783 to 1797. You will recall that William's brief period of military service had him in Russell County in 1774. Tax records show that they were assessed and subsequently paid taxes on real property there during most of that fourteen-year period.

In 1792 William and Fereby were charged with 3 tithables - Thomas, John, and Samuel - but a year later with only one tithable - Samuel - with Thomas and John appearing for the first time on a tax list, indicating that these two oldest sons held property of their own for the first time in 1793.

Lewis Vaughan discovered a valuable piece of evidence in Land Office Treasury Warrant Number 16637, issued 29 May 1783, granting a tract of land in present-day Russell County to William Vaughan. Three years elapsed before this 400-acre tract was surveyed, and then another seven years passed before a certificate of ownership was issued, the latter dated 16 May 1793. A second grant for 70 additional acres was made 13 August 1794.

Less than three years after the latter grant, on 23 January 1797, William and Fereby disposed of half of the 400-acre tract, selling it to Benjamin Wallis. "On 24 February 1797 they sold the 70-acre tract to John Watts. On

24 October 1797 Nathan Ellington, by virtue of a power of attorney, sold the remainder of the 400-acre tract to William Irven...The power of attorney used to dispose of the last tract of land indicates that William and Fereby left Russell County before 24 October 1797."[31] (PIONEERS, p.234).

1797-1814

From Russell County, Virginia, Lewis Vaughan concludes that William and Fereby Vaughan went a hundred miles or so to the southwest of their Virginia lands and took up residence in Hawkins County, Tennessee. "On 15 August 1797 William Vaughan purchased from William McClean a 250-acre tract of land on the north side of Clinch Mountain on Little War Creek in Hawkins County. The date of purchase, it will be noted, was after the 24 January and 22 February sales when he was still in Russell County, but before the 24 October sale (which was) handled through a power of attorney. The land in question is further down the Clinch River Valley, lies on a natural path of migration, and is sufficiently distant from Russell County that, after moving, a power of attorney for disposal of the Russell County land would be reasonable."[32] (Ibid., pp.234-235)

Hawkins County, Tennessee was a "stopping off place" for literally thousands of early pioneers. Countless numbers of American families have found traces of their early ancestors there. The reader should be reminded that the Hawkins County of 1790 extended as far west as Monteagle, but the restructuring of counties left Hawkins considerably reduced in size. Dates of residency and specific locations within the county are important to accurately pinpoint places of residency throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century. William and Fereby's Hawkins County home was on the north side of Clinch Mountain in present-day Hawkins County.

Some early settlers remained in Hawkins County for a lifetime but many lingered there only briefly and then continued their westward migration. Our William and Fereby stayed on in Hawkins County for a period of some fourteen to seventeen years, or at least they continued to own property there during that latter period. As early as 15 April 1800 William sold off one hundred acres to a John Helton who subsequently resold it to John Vaughan and his wife who had accompanied William and Fereby on the move to Hawkins County. This John Vaughan was born around 1762, making him a somewhat younger contemporary of William. In the Archives of Maryland, there is a record of his having served during the American Revolution in Captain William Brown's company of Maryland Artillery from 1777 to the end of that war. We also have additional evidence of his service in Saffell's records, and we shall have more to say of this later.

In 1788, he met his future wife, Nancy Callicot in Charlotte County, Virginia, married her in Halifax County, Virginia in 1794, and then moved with her to Hawkins County, Tennessee around 1800 where they purchased the hundred-acre tract of land from Helton. Lewis Vaughan tells us, "A deposition by a John C. Callico in 1892 identified William and Fereby as his grandparents, and Elizabeth seems to have been his mother." [33] (Ibid., p.237)

It is not known whether John Vaughan was a blood relative of William's or simply a good friend and neighbor. John Vaughan and his wife, Nancy Callicot Vaughan, had eleven children, including sons James, born 15 October 1795, and Beverly who was born 4 January 1798. Their father apparently continued to live in Hawkins County and at least these two of his eleven children went on to parts, to him unknown. Apparently both James and Beverly Vaughan followed William and Fereby into White County, Tennessee, although their father seems to have been unaware of their whereabouts. John's will, dated 27 December 1841, stated as much.

William Vaughan's name appears on the Hawkins County tax list for 1810 and 1812. The latter list also includes the name of William Vaughan Jr. who apparently became 21 years of age in 1812. Two years later William Sr. disposed of his Hawkins County land, selling 100 acres on 2 February 1814 to a William Ford, and the remaining 50 acres on 15 August 1814 to George Anderson. Both sales were registered in August of 1816. As Lewis Vaughan has pointed out, a delay in registering the transaction such as this could indicate that the sales were conditioned on William's getting successfully relocated elsewhere.

1814-1816

Among family historians, there is some dispute as to the whereabouts of William and Fereby Vaughan during the next two or three years, from 1814 through 1816. Lewis Vaughan believes that Goodspeed is in error in stating that William moved from Virginia to Warren County, Tennessee as he found no record of his ever having lived in Warren County and Goodspeed obviously was unaware of the period of residency in Hawkins County. However, as we have indicated earlier, William's son, Samuel, was granted a small 20-acre plot in Warren County in June of 1814, and another son, Daniel, obtained a grant in adjacent White County in May of that same year. Again as we have previously stated, there are reasons that lead us to believe that William may have stayed briefly in White County without owning property there, and there is also the possibility that Goodspeed was misinformed by someone who still regarded the White and Warren County areas as being in old elongated Hawkins County.

The reader is reminded that Daniel disposed of his White County land 18 September 1816 and set out for Missouri. Our supposition is that William also went to Missouri at this

time. As to Samuel, Goodspeed once more may have been in error in stating that he emmigrated from Tennessee to northeast Missouri. It is more likely that Samuel went with his brother Daniel and father William to southeast Missouri. It should be noted that the 1820 census for White County, Tennessee still lists the separate households of both James Vaughan and his family, and Beverly Vaughan and his family. Adjacent to them at that time was Elizabeth Callico who probably was the daughter of William and Fereby Vaughan and the wife of a kinsman of Nancy Callicot who was the mother of James and Beverly Vaughan. In all probability, the spelling of the family name had been changed from Callicot to Callico.

In hopes of uncovering some previously overlooked documentation concerning our Vaughans in Tennessee, I spent several days in January of 1990 searching the files of the Tennessee Library and Archives at Nashville. In addition to looking for new material in White and Warren Counties, I also looked through several documents for possible evidence of Vaughan residency in both Lincoln County and Marion County. I found no Vaughans in Blevins' book which lists members of the Sweeten's Cove Primitive Baptist Church for 1821-1868, but this would not be conclusive evidence one way or the other concerning Cora Call's claim that Old William and Fair-a-Bee returned to their home near Sweeten's Cove.[34] (BLEVINS)

A thorough search of four other books failed to turn up any Vaughans of the 1800-1840 era in the Lincoln, Marion, and Sequatchie County area. The Harris book on Marion County Cemetery Records, the Lasater book on early owners of Marion County farms, Douthat's volume on early Sequatchie settlers, and Raulston's compilation of 145 cemeteries and 7800 graves in the Sequatchie Valley all failed us in this particular endeavor. However, it should be noted that many of the very earliest graves were unmarked, a fact acknowledged by these authors. Furthermore, at least two of these books were devoted mostly to members of just two church groups.[35] (HARRIS-LASATER-DOUTHAT-RAULSTON)

Although the books previously cited held nothing of apparent interest to us in our search, microfilm roll number 119 of Marion County land entries included an entry (number 1751, p. 346) for what appears to be someone named Mayborn Vaughn. This particular entry is translated as nearly as we can decipher it as follows: "Mayborn Vaughn (or Baughn) enters two hundred acres of land in Marion County on Sweeten's Creek on the side of Cumberland Mountain adjoining lande of Sollomon Stone & the lande formily (sic) owned by Isaac Corsell beginning on (or at) a chestnut (tree at) the southwest corner of the said Stone tract then southwardly then westwardly then round to the beginning for compliment (sic). 15 August 1835. Mayburn Vaughn (or Baughn), Locator.[36] (MARION, microfilm roll number 119, volume 1)

And what do we make of this, a Mayborn or Mayburn Vaughn, entering a claim for 200 acres of land on Sweeten's Creek (Sweden's Creek) adjoining land owned by Solomon Stone in Marion County, Tennessee on the 15th of August 1835? Could this Mayborn have been William and Fereby's grandson Maborne? This latter Maborne was born in Tennessee around 1817. He would have been about 18 years of age at the time of this land entry, although his approximated birth date could be in error. He was recorded in the 1840 White County census but apparently moved on into Arkansas after his first two children, William and Jane, were born. We know that he had at least five other children, all born in Arkansas, but we know nothing of his whereabouts after 1860 when his name and the names of his wife Lucinda, and their seven children appeared in the census for Madison County, Arkansas. Lewis Vaughan has suggested that Maborne may have been a full brother of Benjamin Vaughan. Those of us who seek the roots of William and Fereby Vaughan must also be intrigued with the name of Sollomon (sic) Stone on the Marion County, Tennessee land entry record. Cora Call's "Granny" Molly (Malinda) Vaughan, born in Tennessee around 1813, married a Solomon Stone.

Two members of William and Fereby's family resided for a time in both Warren County and White County. Samuel Vaughan was granted a small 20-acre plot in Warren County in June of 1814. Daniel obtained a grant in adjacent White County in May of that same year. There are reasons that lead us to believe that William may have stayed briefly in White County without owning property there. There is also the possibility that Goodspeed was misinformed by someone who still regarded the White and Warren County areas as being in old elongated Hawkins County. In either event, the proximity of these two counties to present-day Fayetteville, Tennessee may be viewed as giving support to the stories Cora Call was told by her "Great-Granny" Molly Stone. Both Warren and White County are but a short distance northeast of Fayetteville, the seat of Lincoln County, and the coves and valleys surrounding Monteagle in the Marion and Grundy County area. Then too both Warren and White County are rife with coves and rills in the Center Hill and Caney Fork regions, and it could have been either or both of these parts of Tennessee which became the setting for stories told Cora Call concerning her Vaughans' Tennessee homeplace.

Daniel Vaughan disposed of his White County land 18 September 1816 and set out for Missouri. Lewis Vaughan feels that William also went to Missouri at this time. In searching White County microfilmed land-tansfer records for the years 1817-1820, I found an index entry on mircofilm roll number 62, volume F, for the transfer of land from a Daniel Vaughan to a John Simsons. The page numbers were unreadable and I could not find the entry itself. This land

transaction could have been made in 1816 and recorded the following year.

Another interesting entry on the same microfilm roll (roll number 62, volume G, pp. 114-115) involved the transfer of land from a William P. Vaughan to a Reuben Prop (or Rop). Both the index and entry were, for the most part, quite dim and barely decipherable. The entry appears to translate, "This indenture witnessed and entered into this 11th day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one between William Vaughan of the County of White & State of Tenn of the one part & Reuben Prop (or Rop) of the County & State of Tennnessee of the other part, witnesseth that the said William Vaughan for an in consideration of three hundred dollars to him in hand paid the rcpt whereof is hereby acknowledged, hath granted, bargained (?) and sold (?) by these presents doth convey to the said Reuben Rop (or Prop) fifty acres of land lying (?) in the county aforesaid in the first district (?) due south of the Cainy Fork River..." The name William P. Vaughan was hand-inscribed as the signer, followed by the notation, "his mark." [37] (WHITE, Microfilm RN 62, Vol. G., pp.114-115))

What do we make of this? Well, for one thing, the year of the sale was 1821 when Fereby's William would have been about 71 years of age and then living in Arkansas. But does this hold out any possibile tie-in with Cora Call's story that Old William and Fair-a-Bee returned from Arkansas to their home in Tennessee? Could this William P. Vaughan have been William Patrick Vaughan, the one Cora Call's Molly Stone referred to as "Old William," father of Fereby's William? So far as we can determine, "Old William" and his wife would have returned to Tennessee about this time, if return they did. We can only guess at his age, but he would most likely have been in his nineties. And White County lies just to the north of Sweeten's Cove on Sweden's Creek in present-day Marion County which was at that time still a part of undivided Indian lands.

As to Samuel, Goodspeed may have been in error, at least partially, in stating that Samuel immigrated from Tennessee to northeast Missouri. It is more likely that Samuel went with his brother Daniel and father William to southeast Missouri. It should be noted that the 1820 census for White County, Tennessee still lists the separate households of both James Vaughan and his family, and Beverly Vaughan and his family. Adjacent to them at that time was Elizabeth Callico who probably was the daughter of William and Fereby Vaughan and the wife of a kinsman of Nancy Callicot who was the mother of James and Beverly Vaughan. In all probability, the spelling of the family name had been changed from Callicot to Callico.

Our perusal of archival records in Nashville added nothing to the information Lewis Vaughan found regarding our Vaughans in White County. The 1820 census records show that

the household of James had 3 males under 10 years, 1 between the ages 18 and 26, and one female, aged 26-45. Beverly's household listed 1 male under 10, 1 between the ages 18 and 26, and 2 females between the ages of 10 and 16. In adjoining Warren County, the 1820 census lists a Thomas Vaughan with 1 male age 18-26 and 1 female, over 45.

Microfilmed deed records for Warren County include several entries of possible interest involving a number of land transactions from a John Looney to a William Barus (pp. 321, 322), Geo. D. Staton (p. 329), and a John Miller (pp. 146, 147), all during the 1814-1820 period. However, these records are, for the most part, unreadable as to dates and other details. Two other entries barely deciperhable concern land transferred to a Thomas Vaugh from a Thomas Bone or Boucher (pp. 369, 370), and to Thomas Vaugh from Thomas Melcher (pp. 239-241), the latter dated 9 Feb. 1811.

Another Warren County record was found involving a land grant from the State of Tennessee to a John Looney of Warren County by then-Governor Willie Blount. Again, only portions of this entry are readable. Dated 8 Dec 1809, this record appears to read as follows: "To all to whom, etc...in consideration of Military service performed by Sutton Truelock (or Trueluck) to the State of North Carolina Warrant No. 1446 dated the 20th day of November 1784 and dated on the 12th day of September 1807 (?) there is granted by the State of Tennessee unto John Loony (?) of the said Sutton Truelock (or Trueluck), a certain tract or parcel of land containing seventy-four acres, the residue of said Warrant being in Warren County in the third district and thirty-fifth section on the west side of Collons River. Signed Willie Blount." [38] (WARREN)

Deed books for Warren County for the period 1820-1833 did not list any Vaughans. The earliest marriage records available to us for Warren County began with the year 1900. Several Vaughans were listed including the earliest entry, Mary Vaughan who married F. M. Winnett 13 December 1900. We also examined M. F. Mitchell's, **White County (Tennessee) Oldest Marriage Book, 1809-1859**, but found no Vaughans recorded in it .

White County tax records for 1811-1876 include the name of Daniel Vaughan in 1816, with 30 acres of land on Cainy (sic) Creek. Included on the same 1816 White County tax list with 40 acres along the same creek was a William Vaughan with a William Vaughan Jr. in an adjacent entry, the latter having no land but assessed for all other taxes including personal, poor, state, and county taxes. Interestingly, of these two, William Jr. was assessed a total of $37 whereas William (presumably William Sr.) was assessed a total of only $20 although he owned land and William Jr. owned none. The following year, in 1817, the only Vaughan entry is one for a William Vaughan with 50 acres and a total assessment of $111. [39] (WHITE)

Records of deeds involving land transfers in White County include three of likely interest. Although these records are dim and in some instances difficult to read, we found one involving a transfer of land from a Daniel Vaughan to a John Simmons, sometime between May of 1817 and June of 1820; one involving the transfer of land from a William Vaughan to Reuben Prop (or Rop), dated 15 January 1822 and signed by the mark of a William P. Vaughan; and a much later land transfer involving 95 acres sold by a John Vaughan to a Wm. White under the date 3 Dec 1824 (p. 424). [40] (WHITE)

Lewis Vaughan has some interesting things to say about the probable route traveled by the Vaughans from White County, Tennessee to Wayne County, Missouri. "Although nothing has come down to us on the subject," he states, "it is of interest to speculate on the route William and his sons followed to Missouri. A likely route would have been by water down Cainy Fork to its junction with the Cumberland River, thence downstream to the Ohio and its confluence with the Mississippi at present-day Cairo, Illinois. From there it would be but a short overland journey to Wayne County, Missouri." [41] (PIONEERS, p.237)

This seems entirely plausible. It is doubtful that the Vaughans, with their knowledge of the territory, would have made the mistake of choosing to raft the long route down the Tennessee River as the Donaldson party had done a few years earlier on their migration from the Watauga Settlement in east Tennessee to Nashville on the Cumberland.

Lewis Vaughan found records of the Missouri period to be sparse so far as our Vaughans were concerned. They apparently resided somewhere in the area of present-day Wayne County in that portion bordered by Castor Creek and Black River which was not fully settled until some 30 years later. All of the early pioneer familes probably were squatters who lived in a particular section for a while and then moved on. Lewis Vaughan reminds us that, in writing about his family, Byron Smith stated that Samuel Vaughan "did not like to be crowded. When anyone settled within a mile of him he simply moved on." [42] (PIONEERS, p.237)

This particular observation will have particular meaning for many of us who have observed the same characteristic in the personalities of either ourselves or other Vaughans. It might also be noted that, almost without exception, our Vaughans seemed to have a natural propensity for choosing not only to live in uncrowded areas, but where there are mountains; and not just any sort of mountains, but preferably where there are navigable streams and tillable valleys as well as verdant hills.

In any event, the Vaughans moved from Wayne County, Missouri on into Arkansas in 1822, settling for a time in what is now Crawford County near Short Mountain Creek in western Arkansas.

1822-1850

Since land in Arkansas Territory was not yet opened to public settlement in 1822, William and Fereby remained as squatters in the Crawford County area some 3 to 4 years before moving on with their clan into northwest Arkansas Territory. Crossing the Boston Mountains from south to north, Samuel and Daniel settled first at a place near Evansville in present-day Washington County. This first settlement could have been as early as 1823 since Daniel's daughter, Catherine, was born there in that year. All of northern Arkansas was then in Lawrence County, Territory of Arkansas. However, because the Indian title to these lands was still being upheld by federal authorities, they were forced to abandon their settlement and move on. In 1826 they established homes at Cane Hill, Washington County, Arkansas where they were the very first settlers and then, in 1828, they migrated on to what is known as the Tuttle settlement on Richland.

With the preceding account of their travels in mind, it is interesting to reflect at this point on what Cora Call had to say about her ancestors and their arrival in present-day northwest Arkansas. According to her, Old William, the Welsh Indian Trader, had a predilection for referring to anything that was big as "Boston." In one of her books she said that he obtained his trade goods in that big eastern seaboard city, and used its name as a synonym for other things he considered to be "big." It was he, she said, who named the Boston Mountains in northwestern Arkansas. She made other claims of considerable interest to us, including one that her ancestor, Samuel Vaughan, was among the first official surveyors of Washington County, and the person who named its county seat, Fayetteville. The latter claim is probably in error; however, it should be noted that Cora Call wrote "stories", not genealogy..

Samuel Vaughan, William and Fereby Vaughan's fourth child, was born around 1776 in North Carolina. He married Catharine (Kate) Hammonds (or Hands) who was born around 1786 in Virginia. Settling in Madison County, Arkansas, Samuel soon claimed the lush lands still known as Vaughan Valley where he built his home. There, he and his wife raised five children including George Washington Vaughan, one of the more interesting of the grandchildren of Fereby and William Vaughan. Samuel Vaughan became one of the first Commissioners of Washington County, Arkansas and he participated in the decision to locate the county seat of Washington County at Fayetteville. The claim that he was the

one person responsible for naming the town for his Tennessee home would appear to be apocryphal. As Lewis Vaughan points out, "...according to Fay Hempstead's **History of Arkansas**, the original name 'Washington Court House' was changed to 'Fayetteville' by order of Postmaster General Barry in honor of the Marquis de La Fayette, who had shortly before visited America." [43] (PIONEERS, p.246)

As we have seen, there is no evidence that either Samuel or his family ever lived in Lincoln County, the county in which Fayetteville, Tennessee is located. However, they did live in nearby Warren and White Counties, and possibly had some dealings in present-day Marion County, although we have no hard evidence of the latter.

Goodspeed's 1889 edition has some interesting things to say about the Vaughans of northwest Arkansas:

"Vaughan's Valley, the most fertile and beautiful landscape in Northwestern Arkansas, is named from its pioneer settlers, Samuel and Daniel Vaughan. Born in Virginia, their father, William Vaughan, removed to Warren County, Tennessee, and thence to Wayne County, Missouri where he was one of the earliest settlers, and thence to Crawford County, Arkansas, where he located on the Arkansas River near Short Mountain Creek.

"Crossing the Boston Mountains, Samuel and Daniel Vaughan settled near Evansville, Washington County, before the Indian title to that section had been extinguished, and, being encroachers, their improvements were destroyed by the regular soldiers. In 1826 they removed to Cane Hill, Washington County, where they were the first settlers, and in 1818 migrated to what is now known as the Tuttle settlement on Richland. In 1831 Samuel Vaughan removed to the valley and bought the improvements of one Friend, an Indian half-breed of migratory habits, then its only occupant. Isaac Vaughan now lives here (ca 1889). Samuel Vaughan dealt largely in Government claims. He died at the age of seventy-seven. Daniel Vaughan lived all his life on his first claim, a short distance west of Hindsville." [44] (GOODSPEED's, p.423)

George Washington Vaughan.was the third child born to Samuel Vaughan and Kate (Hands or Hammond) Vaughan. Twice married, first to Julia Mason and then to his first cousin Elizabeth Vaughan, he also maintained a "relationship" during his second marriage with Louhany Youngman who bore him a son. He was said to have had little formal education but a quick mind. He was self-educated, enabling him to serve competently as County Judge of Madison County, Arkansas for two terms, from 1868-1872. He died in 1888.

The son born November 24, 1858 to Louhany Youngman by George Washington Vaughan was named Mark A. Youngman. His father provided for and, indeed, seemed to favor him. Following his marriage in 1878 to Martha Miles of Benton County, Mark Youngman took up residence on a farm given him

by his father. He prospered and added to his holdings which were said to total 700 acres of good land located some three miles northwest of Hindsville. In addition he established a general mercantile business in the town of Hindsville in 1888.

Lewis Vaughan concludes that William Vaughan probably died at the home of one of his children in northwest Arkansas between 1838 and 1840. We quote once more: "A woman of Fereby's age, who most likely was Fereby herself, was living in James Vaughan's household in Brushy Creek Township, Washington County, in 1840. Census records indicate that almost certainly James Vaughan was John Vaughan's son from Hawkins County. Living in adjacent Prairie Township of Madison County, Arkansas, at the same time was Beverly Vaughan.

"This final paragraph records Fereby's death in Madison County, Arkansas. According to the 1850 mortality schedule Fereby was born in North Carolina and died a widow in Prairie Township at the age of 105. In all likelihood she died at the home of her son Samuel or Daniel." [45] (PIONEERS, p.240)

In this book, it is our hope that we will be able to identity the male link between the Welsh Vaughans of Tretower and our American William Vaughan. Other chapters include further comments by Lewis Vaughan concerning both William and John Vaughan and their probable familial relationship. We also delve into the murky waters of ships' passenger lists for possible clues. Should we fail in our efforts to fully establish William Vaughan's beginnings in North America or to link William directly with the original emigre, we shall try to provide clues that will perhaps enable subsequent researchers to work toward that goal. While we shall devote some additional time and space to the lives and times of other descendants of William and Fereby Vaughan, we must, of necessity, limit such discussions. The reader who wishes further information on the descendants of William and Fereby should consult **Vaughan Pioneers**. At some future date, if there is sufficient interest and if circumstances permit, perhaps this writer or another will have the opportunity to compile a more complete contemporary history of the family. At this writing, we must confine ourselves to the subject at hand which is primarily a search for the ancestors of William Vaughan.

Chapter Three

Thomas, James, and Anthony Wayne Vaughan

Thomas (1773-1846) and Nancy Ford Vaughan (1776-1851)

Fereby Benton Vaughan gave birth to her first child, her son, Thomas, probably in 1773, the year before her husband, William, served 35 days in Lord Dunmore's War against the Shawnee Indians. At this time, the young couple probably resided somewhere in northwestern North Carolina, perhaps near Fereby's home where they met and were married. The scenario we have just painted is purely speculative. Indeed, as census records show, Thomas could have been born between 1770 and 1775, and the place of his birth could have been either in northwestern North Carolina, which included what is now eastern Tennessee, or in western Virginia. The presumption is that Thomas was the first-born and his arrival occurred in or near Fereby's home in the Cherokee Nation. Lewis Vaughan points out that some of his children say he was born in Virginia, others in Tennessee, but the place was most likely in what is now northeastern Tennessee, an area in which there was often some confusion as to state boundaries. [1] (PIONEERS, p.240)

Although a research service in Salt Lake City claimed that they had found the birthplace of Thomas Vaughan to be Cherokee, Swain, North Carolina, this is unsubstantiated at this time. The researcher assumed this to mean Cherokee, Swain County, in what was then Indian Territory.

One would hope for additional facts concerning the source and nature of information given Lewis Vaughan by Mrs. Roger Reed of Springfield, Missouri. Mrs. Reed, a descendant of Samuel Vaughan's son, George Washington Vaughan and his first wife, said that, according to information handed down in her family, Fereby Vaughan was a granddaughter of John Looney who was 3/4 Cherokee. He was said to have lived in Bradley County, Tennessee during his early years, moving on to a place south of Tahlequah, Oklahoma after the removal of the Cherokees to that western outpost in 1835. Fereby was Ferety, according to Mrs. Reed who also told Lewis that John Looney's name appeared on the Cherokee Roll and Treaty of July 8, 1817. To date our efforts to add to this information have been unsuccessful.

We have made a reasonable assumption that Thomas grew up on the family place in Russell County, Virginia where he met and later married Nancy Ford. The daughter of John and Betsy Hill Ford, Nancy was probably born in or near Shenandoah County, Virginia around 1776. Nancy's mother divorced John Ford and married Robert Rutherford whom Betsy had met most likely back in Shenandoah County where Robert entered military service during the American Revolution.

Nancy, her brother James, and their mother and stepfather Robert moved to Russell County around 1793, the year of or perhaps a year before Nancy's marriage to Thomas. Apparently this young couple left Russell County when William and Fereby moved on to Hawkins County, Tennessee around 1797, as tax lists would seem to confirm, but it is uncertain as to whether they accompanied the older couple. As Lewis Vaughan has recorded, Thomas' brothers John and Samuel remained in Russell County for a period of time, and Thomas returned there briefly in 1799 as a parcel of land there was surveyed for him in that year. However, he did not acquire title to it at that time. Some five years later, in 1804, a Thomas Vaughan purchased land in Russell County which he disposed of in December of the same year.

If Hardesty is to be believed, Thomas and Nancy migrated into then sparsely settled far western Virginia - in what is now Wayne County, West Virginia - before 1800. The earliest doumentary evidence unearthed by Lewis Vaughan is a tax list for Kanawha County for the year 1806 in which property held in the name of Thomas Vaughan is described. However, earlier tax lists for 1803-05 for that county, which later became present-day Wayne and Cabell counties, are missing and Thomas and Nancy may have been there as early as 1800. The tax lists for 1801-02, however, do not include this couple. Lewis Vaughan preferred to believe that Thomas passed some time with his parents in Hawkins County before moving on into the Wayne County area around 1805. The 1806 tax list for Kanawha County includes a William Vaughan who was most probably his younger brother, as well as Nancy's brother, James Ford, and Robert Rutherford, Nancy's stepfather. William apparently did not remain in Kanawha as his name appears on the 1812 tax list for Hawkins County.

We have no hard evidence concerning the whereabouts of Thomas and Nancy Ford Vaughan during the period 1797 to 1805. One unsubstantiated family story says that they accompanied the Hattens from Hampshire County to the Kanawha and Wayne County area. Although the late Charles Thompson did not believe that Thomas would have taken so indirect a route, Lewis Vaughan points out that he may have moved first into the Shenandoah County area where his wife Nancy came from, and then on into the Kanawha-Wayne area. Their possible connection with the Hattens once again piques our interest in the variant spellings of the names Fereby and Shadrack in the Hatten line, and in the descendants of their James Vaughn as well his parents.

A grant for 100 acres of land on Price's Mill Creek was issued in the name of Thomas Vaughan by Virginia Governor John Tyler on the 24th of July 1810. The acquisition of this land apparently marked the beginning of the couple's permanent settlement in the Kanawha-Wayne-Cabell County end of far-western Virginia, then a sparsely settled frontier of

civilization. There they remained for the balance of their lives, acquiring rather sizeable parcels of farmland, mostly along Gragston Creek.

Thomas and Nancy had twelve children of record. The first four - John (1794), Elizabeth (1796), Jane (1800), and Martha (1802) - were probably born in Russell or possibly Shenandoah County, Virginia. Daughter Nancy (1804) was very likely the first of the children to be born in Kanawha County. The other children were Phoebe (1806), sometimes referred to as Ferabe, William Tyler (1808), Lucinda (1813), James (1814), Christiana (1816), Thomas (1819), and Abraham (1822).

As members of their household grew into adulthood many of them married and remained in the area. In 1812 the eldest son, John, married Lydia Crabtree, the Virginia-born daughter of Thomas and Polly Priest Crabtree. The following year daughter Elizabeth married John Smith, a Rockingham County, North Carolina native. In 1817 Martha married Goodwin Lycan. Nancy married Abraham Ferguson in 1821. Son William Tyler married Phoebe Hazlett in 1827 a month after the marriage of Lucinda to William Workman. In 1833 James married Susannah Wilson, daughter of James and Sarah Mountz Wilson and, in 1834 Phoebe (Ferabe) married William Workman.

Christiana married a Ferguson around 1835, Thomas married Minerva Walker in 1838, and Abraham married Sarah Prichard in 1846.

During their lifetime, Thomas and Nancy apparently did the prudent thing and deeded portions of their land to various of their children for nominal sums. In 1822 they deeded 160 acres on Gragston Creek to their eldest son John, and 170 acres on Price's Mill Creek to son-in-law John Smith who had married daughter Elizabeth. Eleven years later in 1833 they deeded land to each of the husbands of daughters Nancy, Lucinda, and Martha - Abraham Ferguson, William Ferguson, and Goodwin Lycan.

Despite whatever efforts they may have made to keep the children and their families nearby, Thomas and Nancy saw many of them leave for greener pastures. William moved briefly over into Kentucky, returned to Virginia, and then migrated to settle in Platte County, Missouri before moving on to Oregon. Others joined him in Missouri: Thomas II, then Abraham, sisters Martha and Nancy and their husbands, an Uncle James Ford and, in 1843, John, son of Thomas II.

The migration to Missouri was only temporary for Thomas Jr. Following the defection of grandson John, Thomas Sr. drafted a will in 1844 in which he left the homeplace to his namesake, Thomas II. To the rest of his children he left the munificent sum of one dollar. By 1846 Abraham also had returned from Missouri, possibly because of the poor health of his father who drafted a will that year leaving a parcel of land to this youngest son. Both of these acts may have been in anticipation of death which occurred between late

July and mid-August of 1846. Wayne County resident Thomas C. Vaughan, a descendant, informed Lewis Vaughan that he was reasonably certain that he had located the burial place of Thomas at the Jay Smith Cemetery at the Black Fork of Upper Gragston.

Abraham and his wife made a home for Nancy for the rest of her natural life, an arrangement that may have been part of an agreement concerning the land transfer. Nancy died around 1850-54, after which Abraham and his wife Sarah sold their Wayne County land and moved across the river into Lawrence County, Ohio. Their stay there was brief as they moved on west into Richardson County, Nebraska where son Christopher, their third child, was born in 1852. Even this sojourn was short-lived. Their son Andrew Jackson Vaughan may have been born in Nebraska (1854), but their fifth son, Thomas Jefferson, was born back in Lawrence County, Ohio in 1856. Sarah (1859), Abraham (1861), and Laura Lucinda (1864) were all born in Lawrence County, Ohio. Both Abraham and Sarah returned to Richardson County, Nebraska where he died on the 12th of May 1865. Sarah lived another 33 years. She died in Richardson County on the 27th of July 1898.[2] (PIONEERS, pp.240-244)

James (1814-1874) and Susannah Wilson Vaughan (1812-1908)

The ninth child and third son of Thomas and Nancy Ford Vaughan, James was born around 1814 in Cabell County, Virginia. Apparently he grew up on his father's farm, married Susannah Wilson, daughter of James and Sarah Mountz Wilson, around 1833, and settled in or near the place where both were raised until around 1858 at which time they apparently moved across the Big Sandy River into Lawrence County on the Kentucky side. Both are listed in the 1860 census in that area.

There are no known records of land ownership by James and Susannah. Although Thomas had considerable property, James was one of the children who inherited none of it, and apparently he acquired none of his own. Instead he worked in a variety of jobs, describing himself as a farmer at times, and serving for several years as a jailer in Wayne County. During the Civil War, he worked for a time for the Union Army at South Point in Lawrence County, Ohio, where at least one of his sons, Anthony Wayne Vaughan, assisted him.

A letter which he wrote describes his homeplace as being "on East Fork of Little Sandy 8 miles from the Ohio River right on the railroad that runs coal from Coalton, Kentucky." His choice of this location was later harshly criticized by one of his sons, Allen T., who stated in yet another letter of 24 February 1869 to his cousin James in Oregon that the place was "fit only to raise corn and eat it up." In that same letter, Allen T. goes on to say, "I've traveled over 17 different states and this is the worst

place I've found in all the World." Only my grandfather, Anthony Wayne Vaughan, seems to have liked the place well enough to remain there when he reached adulthood, although he too moved about from time to time.

Of the ten children born to James and Susannah, apparently all except baby Mary who died in infancy were born while the couple resided on the Virginia side of the Big Sandy River.

Goodwin was the eldest, born around 1834. Then came Mary Jane, born around 1836. On the 14th of June in 1855 she married Naman Roberts, son of A. and E. Roberts. Allen T. was born in 1840. On the 29th day of May in 1868, he married Mary C. Woods who was born in Kentucky around 1848. They had one known child, a daughter Dora I., born around 1849.

Lucinda was the fourth child. Born in 1841, she married Henry Hutchinson on the 10th of August in 1860. Then came Rebecca Belle, born in March of 1842. When she was 24, Belle married Doctor George W. Lancaster (b. December 1837). Belle had two children, Louella, born in 1864 at Flat Woods, Kentucky, and Georgia, born in June of 1867, who in 1886 married another Kentuckian, George W. Fisher. Louella married Thomas Mason, an Englishman. Belle and Doctor Lancaster were said to have prospered financially and later moved to south Florida where they endowed Stetson University rather handsomely.

The sixth child was "Aunt Cass", Cassia Vaughan, born around 1846. She married Frank Cooksey on the 8th of September in 1868. Her brother and my Grandfather, Anthony Wayne Vaughan, remained quite close throughout most of their lives, she residing in Catlettsburg in Boyd County, Kentucky and later a few miles south at Fallsburg in Lawrence County, and he with his sister Ida and brother Howard in Ashland during his later years.

My grandfather, Anthony Wayne Vaughan, was the seventh child of James and Sussanah. Born 17 October 1848, we shall have more to say about him later. As I have stated earlier, he is the principal source of my information about our Welsh ancestry as well as his early work with his father at South Point, Ohio during the American Civil War.

Hugh was born in 1851, Jackson on the 8th of June in 1854, and baby Mary on the 18th of April in 1859, apparently either still-born or dying in infancy. Hugh married Margaret Bradley on the 13th of May 1870. They had five children, Mary (1871), Ollie (1873), Eva (1874), Fred (1876), and Anna (1878), all apparently born in Boyd County, according to the 1880 Boyd County Kentucky census. Hugh died in 1933.

Jack had two wives, the first Hannah Roush of Mason County, West Virginia, and the second Jennie Savage, born in July of 1850 in Kentucky. There were two children born to the first union: John F, born in 1877 in Kentucky, died in Wayne County, Virginia, probably at his grandparents' home. Bert was born around 1879. From the second marriage to

Jennie Savage there were five children: Tony (1884); Edith (1886); Ollie (1888); Allen (1889); and Earl (1893). Apparently Jack and Jennie had moved with their family to near Jellico in Tennessee sometime around 1890 as Allen was born in Kentucky and Earl in Tennessee.

James died at Rush, Boyd County, Kentucky in 1874, probably at the home of his son Anthony Wayne. Susannah lived another 34 years, spending her declining years with her daughter Cass Vaughan Cooksey who had moved from Catlettsburg in Boyd County to Fallsburg in Lawrence County.

The photographs of James and Susannah reproduced in an appendix of this book were supplied by Gertrude Bates, a descendant of James and Susannah. Although little is known about James other than what we have told here, an interesting article concerning Susannah appeared in the January 8, 1981 edition of the Wayne County News. Written by Byron Morris, we quote:

"One of the larger Wayne County families is that of the descendants of James Wilson and Sarah Mounts. Today there remain many descendants of this family in the tri-state area. James, it is said, was a drummer boy in the American Revolution and his wife, Sarah (Sally) Mounts was either full or part Cherokee Indian. It had been generally accepted, but no proof, that they were married in Tennessee and moved to what is now Wayne County at an early date.

"Mrs. Doris Bias and Mrs. R. A. Bromley, both of Spring Valley Drive, have made an important discovery about the marriage of James Wilson and Sally Mounts..."

The Morris article quotes an entry from "the official court records for Bath County, Va." dated 11 January 1795 in which one Agnes Given, guardian of Sally Mounts, apparently then not of age, consented to the marriage of Sally to James Wilson. Robert Given and John Berry witnessed the mark of Agnes Given. As Morris points out, this information raised new questions such as: Who were the witnesses? When, where and why did Agnes Given become Sally's guardian?

Morris concludes, "Wayne County, W.Va., records show that James Wilson died Feb. 11, 1857 at the age of 90 and his death was reported by his wife, Sarah Wilson. Assuming that the death record is correct as to Wilson's age , then he was born about 1767, thus making it possible for him to have served as a drummer boy in the American Revolution."[3] (MORRIS)

Anthony Wayne Vaughan (1848-1940) And His Descendants

Anthony Wayne Vaughan was born in Wayne County, Virginia (now Cabell County, West Virginia) on the 17th day of October in 1848, the seventh of ten children of James and Susannah Mountz (Mounts) Wilson Vaughan. During 1863, when he was a boy of 15, he worked with his father who was employed by the Union Army to care for horses at South

Point, Ohio. This was sufficiently close to the homeplace that they could have commuted across the Ohio River, either daily or on a weekly basis.

Although James' father, Thomas, owned sizeable parcels of land, apparently neither James nor his sons were ever large landowners. The ninth child of Thomas and Nancy Ford Vaughan, and their third son, James was not favored by his father with an inheritance of any kind other than a token dollar left him through his father's will. In fact, as we have seen, when James' brother, Thomas Jr., returned from Missouri to rejoin his family in Virginia, their father drafted his Will in 1844 leaving the homeplace to Thomas Jr. after the mother Nancy's death.

James, who was thirty years of age and already married and the father of five children at that time, had apparently stayed with his parents until he married Susannah Mounts (Mountz) Wilson around 1833. They then settled nearby, remaining in Wayne County until about 1858 at which time they relocated across the Big Sandy River in Lawrence County, Kentucky.

On the 21st of October 1871, at age 23, Anthony Wayne Vaughan married America McBrayer who was born 31 March 1848 in Carter County, Kentucky, the daughter of William G. McBrayer. The marriage took place at the home of George Bradley in Boyd County, a relative of brother Hugh's wife, Margaret Bradley. Always close to his family, Anthony Wayne moved across the river and downstream from his parents, settling at first near Hugh in the village of Geigersville where both he and Hugh apparently became coal miners.

The 1880 and 1900 censuses both show Anthony Wayne and America McBrayer Vaughan as residents of Boyd County, and the latter census describes all of their sons, down to age 12, as "coal miners." Upon reading this, Lewis Vaughan was moved to remark about the apparent absence of child labor laws in those days. Of that, I should comment that Lewis probably was at least partly correct in his observation. If there were any child labor laws then, they were probably not enforced. As to whether these children actually worked in the coal mines at so tender an age, I have no knowledge. I do know that, at one time or other, probably all of them did perform some such work in or around the mines. However, although coal mining figured prominently in the early lives of most of the male offspring of Anthony Wayne Vaughan, many of them "got out" as soon as possible to seek other types of employment.

My father James tried railroading for a time and he also worked for Semet Solvay at its coke-making operation at Catlettsburg. At one point, around 1900, my father and his father jointly operated a small mine of their own near Winslow, adjacent to Ashland in Boyd County. Dad's brother Howard probably spent little time inside the mines. He did, however, manage a coal company store at Winslow and Rush,

and later privately owned mercantile establishments of his own at Pollard in Ashland. Everett became a state and later federal inspector of mines. John also worked in the mines "up Big Sandy" as did my father who finally lost his life in the Number Five mine at Van Lear, Kentucky in 1935. There is no doubt that economic conditions, particularly at this time and place, were hard and coal mining probably offered the most promising means of earning a decent living. You will recall that Anthony Wayne's older brother Allen T. had some harsh things to say about this entire territory from southwestern Virginia to far eastern Kentucky.

There were thirteen children born to Anthony Wayne and America McBrayer Vaughan:

Lou Ella Vaughan, born 26 April 1872, married Noah Hall. They had two children, Richard, born in March of 1898, and Norma, born in March of 1900. Norma married Bill Dixon. To this union were born seven children: Troy, James, Ruth Helen, Betty, Jackie, Phyllis, and Robert.

Charles G. Vaughan, born 2 October 1873, married Martha Shepherd 20 August 1900. They had two children, Ada Mae, born in 1901, and Alberta, born in 1902. Uncle Charlie was killed in a railroad accident near Mount Sterling, Kentucky in 1910. Left with two young girls to raise, Aunt Martha entered both of them in a talent show at the Keith Albee Theater in Huntington, West Virginia. When the two girls were declared winners and named "Baby Wampus Stars", their mother took them to Los Angeles around 1920 where both forged successful careers as film actresses. We shall tell you more about these interesting young girls and their Hollywood careers later in this chapter.

Ida Vaughan, born 28 April 1875, married Reuben Ball on the 4th of June 1906. Born in 1875, the son of William L. and Cynthia Berry Ball, Reuben worked throughout most of his life in various county offices in Boyd County, Kentucky. They had one child, Ruby Evelyn, who was born 14 April 1910. On the 23rd of November in 1927 Ruby married Howard T. Layne, born 2 August 1908, the son of J. Willis and Cora Carr Layne. They had four children. Howard L. "Sonny" Layne was born 25 September 1928. He married Josephine Craft, who in turn had seven children - Mary Lou, Ronald L., Teresa Jo, Teena Kay, Timothy Ray, Toni Lynn, and Kimberly Ann. Ronald Pierce "Ronnie" Layne was born 5 October 1933. He married Ann Keeney and they have two children, Ronald Pierce II and Jordan Lynn. Leonard "Skip" Layne was born 14 November 1941. On the 27th of January 1962 at Normal, Illinois he married Jill Vivian Warner who was born 23 November 1941 at Atlanta, Georgia, the daughter of Dale Nevin and Gene Vivian Wagner Warner. Their four children are Stephen Michael, Peter Anthony, Geoffrey Howard, and Matthew Warner. Elizabeth Ann "Libby" Layne was born 13 March 1950. She is married to Mark Rogers.

Susan Jane Vaughan, born 3 December 1876, died an infant.

Esther Ann Vaughan, born 19 April 1878, died in infancy.

Daisy Vaughan was born 10 October 1879. On the 17th of December 1902 she married Tom Gilley who was born around 1880, the son of Taylor and Elizabeth Evans Gilley. They had four children, Willie, Lucille, Charles, and Joe. Susan Jane, born 3 December 1876, died in infancy.

James Vaughan was born 14 October 1881 at Rush, Boyd County, Kentucky. He married his first wife, Ella Hammond, 27 February 1910. They had two children, George Willis Vaughan, born 17 August 1912, and Ida Mae Vaughan, born 16 October 1914. Ella was born ca 1888. She died suddenly on the 7th of March 1918. James then married my mother, Frances Lynk, on the 9th day of September 1919. She was born 22 January 1892 at Kilgore, Carter County, Kentucky, the daughter of John and Lyda Burgraff Lynk. I, James Elwood Vaughan, their only child, was born 7 December 1925. Our father worked at various times for railroads, coke mills, and coal mines. On the 15th of July in 1935 he died along with eight other men in a methane gas explosion in Consolidation Coal Company Mine #155 at Van Lear in Johnson County, Kentucky. My mother, Frances Lynk Vaughan, died in August of 1942 at the home of her sister, Minnie Lynk Lyons, in Ashland.

George Willis Vaughan married Nora Revis on 12 March 1949. They have no children. Ida Mae Vaughan married Sylvester Charles "Jim" Jacobs in 1943. They had two children, Melanie, born 17 May 1944, and James Sylvan Charles "Skip", born 19 July 1952. Melanie married Doctor Mark Lemley of Pasadena on the 20th of December in 1964. They have one child, Evan Elizabeth. Skip had two children by his first wife, Phyllis Crosby Jacobs - James S. C. Jacobs II and Colleen Vaughn Jacobs - and a son, Justin, by his second wife, Cheryl Teague; they are expecting their second as we go to press. This writer married Wanda Lee Rice at Paragould, Arkansas on the 14th of February 1949. The daughter of Thomas L. and Samantha Getson Rice, Wanda Lee was born 10 June 1926. We have no children.

Allen Toby Vaughan, born 29 January 1883, blind since childhood, lived most of his life with his brother Howard and died 10 September 1973 in Ashland. He is buried in our family plot at Rose Hill Cemetery in Ashland.

William M. Vaughan, born 24 June 1885, married Josephine Bryant in 1918. He died the next year, 1919, of Bright's Disease.

Howard Vaughan, born 6 March 1887, married Lucille Ratcliff on the 17th of June 1923. Lucille was born 24 March 1908 in Carter County. They had five children: Garndella, born 23 July 1924; Alberta, born 2 May 1926; Marcelene, born 28 August 1928; Robert Wayne, born 3 June 1935; and Joyce Ann, born 17 September 1943. Alberta married Cecil Ralph Hart on the 2nd of August 1947. They had four children: Charles Russell Hart, born 11 April 1950; Robert Eugene

Hart, born 25 July 1952; Jeanne Cecile Hart, born 3 February 1958; and Sue Ellen Hart, born 16 February 1963. Marcelene married Lester Eugene Reid at Knoxville on the 29th of June 1964. They have two children, Bryan Lester, born 3 August 1965, and Randall Eugene, born 3 July 1966.

Robert Wayne Vaughan married Theresa Elizabeth Reese of Mobile on the 15th of September 1956. Theresa was born at Mobile on the 15th of September 1937, the daughter of William and Ruby Emerson Reese. They have three children, Karen, born 30 January 1963, Robert Keith, born 7 October 1964, and Kimberly Denise, born 26 April 1973. Joyce Ann married Kermit Ewell Miller on the 24th of November 1961 at Marshall, North Carolina. They have two children, Douglas, born 28 Septgember 1965, and Drew Emerson, born 22 November 1969.

John Vaughan Sr., born 30 January 1889, married Mattie Wolfe on the 2nd of November 1910. The daughter of William and Martha Spriggs Wolfe, Mattie has born in 1892 in Boyd County. They had four children: Delbert James, born 13 September 1911 at Prestonsburg, Kentucky; George Hubert, born 14 February 1913 at Van Lear, Kentucky; John II, born 14 November 1915 at Rush, Kentucky; and Juanita Frances, born 27 January 1918 at Garrett, Kentucky.

On the first of June 1934 at Garrett, Delbert married Ethel Catherine Neil, who was born 3 December 1911 at Alpine, Kentucky, the daughter of Charles and Margaret Slaven Neil. They had three children: Ronna Jane, born 12 March 1936, now married to Dr. Robert Askins; David Ray, born 22 February 1941, wife Luci; and Sara Margot, born 29 July 1946 at Logan, West Virginia, married to David Price. George Hubert married Phyllis Claggett on the 4th of June 1936 at Garrett. Phyllis was born 17 August 1915 at Wayland, Kentucky, the daughter of Edwin Bowen and Elsie Kimble Claggett. Phyllis and Hubert have four children: Doris Evelyn, born in 1936 at Garrett, married in 1955 to John Rotge, has three children, Russell, Kathy, and Ronnie; Bruce Ivan, born in 1938 at Garrett, married in 1965 at South Bend, Indiana, he has a daughter, Sabrina; a son, Frederick Wayne, born in 1941 in Carey, Ohio, died in 1960 at South Bend; and Phillip Wesley, born in 1945 in South Bend where he died in 1967.

John Vaughan Jr. married Audria Mae VanHoose on the 7th of October in 1940. Born 11 June 1919 at Sitka, Kentucky, the daughter of Hancel and Nellie VanHoose, Audria and John had two children. Judith Delyn was born 8 May 1941 at Wittensville, Kentucky; she was married on the 28th of December 1973 to Lawrence Curtis; Stephen Gregory was born 15 June 1953 at San Diego. On the 25th of June 1976 he married Cecilia Swank.

Juanita Frances married Kenneth Marshal Miles on the 9th of November 1948 at Yuma, Arizona. Born 16 December 1924 in Linn County, Iowa, the son of Marshall Lee and Marcella

Elizabeth Brislawn Miles, Kenny and Juanita have a daughter, Karen Lynette who was born 11 April 1949 in San Diego. She married Joseph Peter Knoll on the 3rd of March 1971. John Vaughan Sr. died on the 15th of December 1968 at the home of his son Delbert in Logan.

Daniel Everett Vaughan, born 7 February 1892, married Maude Eloise Childress, daughter of Jesse M. and Jennie McWhorter Childress, on the 26th of December in 1917. They had four children: Charlene Marie, Maurice Lee, Warren Sterling, and Gerald Eugene. Charlene Marie Vaughan was born 17 October 1919 at Van Lear, Kentucky. She married Wilbert Edwin Steil on the 22nd of September 1940 at Louisa, Kentucky. Ed was born on the 26th day of November in 1919 at Ashland, the son of Harry Condit and Jessie Carnahan Steil. Charlene and Ed had two children: Warren Edwin, born 12 February 1948 at Ashland and married on the 9th of May 1970 to Hollie Jo McDowell, and Condit Franklin, born 19 September 1949 at Ashland and married on the 10th of August 1974 to Rhonda Lynn Brown.

Maurice Lee Vaughan was born 2 October 1921 at Van Lear. On the 25th of June 1945 in Lexington, Kentucky he married Peggy Jo Allen, daughter of Doctor Joseph and Bertha Emma May Allen. Born on the first of December 1920 at Louisville, Peggy Jo and Maurice Lee had three children: Margaret Ann, born 2 April 1948 at Martin, Floyd County, Kentucky, and twins Robert Joseph and Richard Eugene, born 14 June 1950 also at Martin. Maurice Lee died 21 October 1961. Warren Sterling Vaughan, born 23 February 1924, was killed in combat in Europe on the 2nd. of January in 1945.

Gerald Eugene, born 16 July 1926, married Phyllis Anne Webb on the 24th of December 1948 at Ashland. They had four children: Stephen Daniel, born 17 April 1954; James David, born 16 March 1956; Mark Lee, born 29 November 1960; and Rebecca Louise, born 5 November 1962, all born at Covington, Kentucky. Daniel Everett died on the 20th of January 1970.

Anthony Wayne Vaughan II, born 5 April 1893, in 1919 married Mary Barrett, daughter of May and Charlie Barrett of Kilgore, Kentucky. They had two sons, Charles and Richard. Charles, born in 1922, died when his Navy ship was torpedoed in the North Atlantic in 1940. Richard, born in 1923, served in the U. S. Army and was killed in an auto accident shortly after joining the Kentucky State Highway Patrol in 1946. Anthony Wayne Vaughan II, died in a mining accident in February of 1923 at Wolf Pen, Kentucky.

I am tempted to list some of the accomplishments of the children and grandchildren of Anthony Wayne Vaughan and American McBrayer Vaughan, but I realize that any such efforts would be fraught with much peril for, if I should omit a member of any one generation, I would make at least one enemy and probably more, and I do not wish to do this. Furthermore, many members of this family have achieved a

degree of fame. There are doctors, lawyers (although very few of those) and, I dare say, an Indian chief or two. There are preachers and more than a few teachers, but there simply is not enough space in this book for that sort of thing. Succeeding generations, including the great-grandchildren of Anthony Wayne Vaughan and America McBrayer Vaughan, will have to write their own history. And why not? After all, each generation should have its moment in the sun. Having said that, let me tell you a little bit about the daughters of Uncle Charlie and Aunt Martha.

Uncle Charlie's Daughters

Adamae and Alberta went to California with their mother after they had been named "Baby Wampus Stars" in a talent competition at the Keith Albee Theater in Huntington, West Virgnia, probably in 1920. Their father had lost his life in a railroad accident near Mount Sterling, Kentucky in 1910, leaving their mother to earn a living for herself and the girls. Martha apparently made a good choice. Soon after arriving in California, both girls found work in the movies. Adamae, tall and blonde, found supporting or starring roles in such films as **The Arizona Streak** with Tim Tyler in 1926; **Dancing Sweeties** in 1930 with Grant Withers and Sue Carol; **The Last Edition**, and **Show of Shows**.

Alberta, short, brunette, and pixy-ish, had the greater success of the two with more than twenty-five pictures, starting in 1923 with **A Friendly Husband**, followed by three films in 1926, **The Adorable Deceiver**, **Collegiate**, and **Ain't Love Funny?**. There were five roles for her the following year: **Backstage**, **The Dropkick**, a First National film with Richard Barthelmess and Hedda Hopper, **The Romantic Age** by Columbia, **Sinews of Steel**, and **Uneasy Payments**. Her first MGM movie, **Forbidden Hours**, came in 1928 with Ramon Novarro, then **Old Age Handicap**, followed by a Cecil B. DeMille feature, **Skyscraper**, with William Boyd. In 1929 Alberta did four more films, **Molly and Me** with Joe E. Brown, **Noisy Neighbors** with Billy Gilbert, **Points West**, a cowboy opus with Hoot Gibson, and **Show of Shows**, the Warner Brothers musical which featured Loretta Young, Sally Eilers, John Barrymore, Salley Blane, and sister Adamae Vaughan.

There were three films in 1931: **Wild Horse**, with Hoot Gibson and Stepin Fetchit, **Working Girls**, a Paramount feature with Paul Lucas and Stu Erwin, and **Spell of the Circus** with Francis X. Bushman. In 1932, there were four more: **Love in High Gear** with Harrison Ford, **Midnight Morals**, **Dancers in the Dark** by Paramount with Miriam Hopkins, Jack Oakie, and George Raft, and **Daring Danger**, a Columbia cowboy epic co-starring Tim McCoy and Alberta. I met "Colonel Tim" and visited with him briefly in the late 1960s when he was in Arkansas on a tour with a circus. He spoke fondly of our cousins Alberta and Adamae.

In 1933 there was **Alimony Madness** with Leon Ames and in 1934 Alberta shared top billing with John Wayne in a Lone-Star/Monogram production called **Randy Rides Alone.** There were others, including a series produced by FBO in 1926 called **Fighting Blood.** My brother George seems to recall seeing her as Maisie in a comic series of that name, and with Fatty Arbuckle and Charlie Chaplin in short features.

Both girls used to come back to Ashland on occasion, often in a chauffered limousine. Cousin Ruby and my brother George remembered their visits. Although I spoke with Alberta by telephone, once while I was visiting my sister Ida Mae in Los Angeles and a second time from my home in Arkansas, I never met her in person. My brother attempted to pay her a visit at her home in North Hollywood in the early 1960s, but without success. Apparently she became rather reclusive during her later years. During my second phone call I invited her to our annual Vaughan Reunion in eastern Kentucky, but to no avail. Later, in 1982, I became a member of the Arkansas Educational Television Commission. Ray Nielsen, AETN's resident movie expert, regularly speaks with movie actors as a featured part of his **Goodtimes Picture Show.** His efforts to locate and talk with Alberta failed as did mine. Ray, incidentally, deserves all the credit for providing the details concerning Cousin Alberta's film career, and I thank him again for that courtesy. We were always proud of our first cousins and their film careers, and I thought you might enjoy reading about them.

Before we leave Anthony Wayne Vaughan let me tell you about one incident that stands out in my mind. I don't recall the exact year, but it had to be a summer prior to 1935. Dad was still living. It must have been 1934. All five of us were at home at Van Lear and Grand-dad had come to visit us. Van Lear was company-built and company-owned. The Consolidation Coal Company owned **everything**, some said even the miners and their families. That's an exaggeration. Actually, except for the dangerous working conditions, Consol ran a good town, and it was a particularly good place for a boy like me.

We always got first-run movies at Van Lear, often before they got them in the big towns. And stage shows. There were all sorts of vaudeville shows, big bands, and other such entertainment at the theater on the second floor of the rec hall. That's what we called the recreation building. During Grand-dad's visit we started seeing billboard posters around town advertising the coming appearance of a grey-bearded old gentleman who claimed to be Frank James, Jesse's brother. When Grand-dad saw the signs he said he would like to go see the man. He thought that he would know whether he really was Frank James. They were both about the same age, and Grand-dad had some special reason for wanting to see him.

But no one wanted to go. No one, that is, except me. Grand-dad kept after the others. Anyone else would be better than a wet-behind-the-ears eight-year-old kid. Still no one wanted to go - not my Dad, nor Mom, nor Ida Mae nor George. Finally, Grand-dad settled for me, and off we went.

First we saw the movie then the stage show. The old man sauntered on-stage looking every bit the part. In fact he looked an awful lot like pictures I had seen of Buffalo Bill Cody, grey goatee and all. All through the man's speech I kept pestering my Grand-dad. "Is that him?" I would ask, and Grand-dad would tell me to be quiet. He just sat there, listening very intently. Grand-dad was about 85 years old, and so was the old man who stood talking and peering down at us from the stage. Finally, the old man ended his act, we applauded, and then got up to go home. "Is that him?" I asked once more. Grand-dad didn't say a word.

All the way home I kept up the questions and still my Grand-dad remained silent. Finally, after I had decided it was no use to keep on asking questions and just before we reached our house, Grand-dad spoke. "That's not him," he said. "I would know if it was him. He told a good story, but that's not him. The real Frank James was shot in the leg once out in Missouri and he would have walked with a limp. That man didn't walk with a limp. But he told a good story."

This incident took place during one of several visits my Grand-dad made. The next would be after my father's death in the mine, and he would help me put in a garden and tell me some of the stories about our people in Wales. Years later I would hear other stories about Frank and Jesse James, including one in which Frank is supposed to have taken the name Joe Vaughan in a place called Winslow, Arkansas. Our kinsman, the late Charles Thompson of Detroit, sent me a clipping of an Associated Press article by Paul Lebar which appeared in the Detroit News on the 21st of August in 1969. According to Lebar, Columbus Vaughn, a Knoxville, Iowa school teacher, his aunt Sarah Snow, and a cousin Lester Snow purported to tell "the true story" of Frank and Jesse in their book **This was Frank James**, published by Dorrance & Company of Philadelphia. That story repeats the Joe Vaughn legend, but places Frank at Wayton, not Winslow in Arkansas.

In their book, Vaughn and the Snows state that they are distant relatives of Frank and Jesse. "Frank James did not die in Kearney, Missouri as legend has it," they claim, "but instead spent the last 40 years of his life in the Ozarks at Wayton, Arkansas."

And, as for Jesse, "...instead of being shot from ambush by a cousin in St. Joseph...(he) let a Texas saddle tramp take the bullet for him and lived to be more than 100 before his 1951 death in Granbury, Texas" where, the authors say he continued to live under the name J. Frank Dalton.

Columbus Vaughn and the Snows say that Jesse's brother Frank went first to Hackett, Arkansas and then on to Wayton

after the reported shooting of Jesse in 1882. "There," they say, "he assumed the alias of Joe Vaughn, married Nancy Richardson, and raised nine children. He died in 1926 at age 80 after spending his last five years compiling an autobiography...'The Only True Story of Frank James.'"

According to Columbus Vaughn and the Snows, Frank James - alias Joe Vaughn - raised a large family including four still living in 1969, one of whom was one of the authors, Sarah Elizabeth Snow, then 79 and living at Farmersville, California. Another child was William Nelson Vaughn, Columbus' father, age 77 in 1969 and then living at Wayton, Arkansas. These authors claim that the James brothers were not full brothers, but rather that one was a son and the other a stepson of a Baptist minister. No claim is made as to any possible connection with real-life Vaughns or Vaughans, although the implication is clear that the boys' mother was a Vaughn. [4](LEBAR)

There are, of course, other tales and legends concerning the James boys, including one that had Jesse as the owner of a grocery store somewhere in California during his declining years. My only thought is that no one knows the true "true story" but the name Vaughn or Vaughan pops up in most of them, and there must have been some sort of connection with our family although I must ask the reader of this book not to credit me as a source of information concerning any of them. Incidentally, my wife has both James and Dalton kin on one side of her family and, since we both apparently are related to the same pack of Looneys who migrated west from Hawkins County Tennessee, adding another common ancestor like Jesse James would be a bit too much. Perhaps this is why the Good Lord saw fit not to give us children.

That about does it. I wish we had room to include something about the other children of Thomas and Nancy Ford Vaughan: John, Elizabeth, Jane, Martha, Nancy, Phoebe, William Tyler, Lucinda, Christiana, Thomas, and Abraham. But there just isn't time or space. Well, perhaps we do have room for an anecdote or two about William Tyler.

William Tyler Vaughan

He was the seventh child and second son of Thomas and Nancy. Born 22 October 1808 in Kanawha County, Virginia, William Tyler Vaughan married Phoebe Hazlett on the 6th day of December 1827 in Cabell County, Virginia. Phoebe was born 16 December 1809 in Cabell County, the daughter of Alexander and Phoebe Cyrus Hazlett. They had twelve children, the eldest Alexander Hamilton Vaughan, born 8 January 1829, and the youngest Robert Carl Vaughan, born 4 October 1852. William Tyler died at the age of 80 on the 18th of December 1888 in Coburg, Lane County, Oregon. Phoebe died 12 years later on the 16th of December 1900 at the same place. But before their demise, a great deal happened to this couple.

By the time he had turned 23 in 1831 William Tyler was elected constable by the Cabell County Court. Then, for a brief period of time, he and Phoebe crossed the river into Kentucky, and one family member said they also moved briefly into Illinois, but they soon returned to western Virginia. In 1839, they journeyed to Platte County, Missouri and in 1845 William Tyler set out with his neighbor, Andy Foster, on a trek with the Tetherow wagon train to Oregon. Apparently intending to go only so far and then turn back, William Tyler stayed on to complete the journey when Andy's stock grew restless and hard to handle. After spending the winter of 1845-46 in Oregon, he bought a packhorse and returned to Platte County, Missouri. In 1847 William Tyler and Phoebe disposed of their land in Virginia, and presumably any property they owned in Missouri and, with their entire family, left Platte County for Oregon.

One descendant, Cordelia Vaughan of Elgin, Oregon, provided us with a great deal of information on this family, including substantiated stories about her ancestor William Tyler Vaughan who on his second trip to Oregon became the leader of the large wagon train that brought them west. The route they took is now known as The Oregon Trail. Much of what Cordelia related to us had been told her by William Tyler Vaughan II who was a mere child when the trip occurred but an eyewitness nonetheless. The second caravan, according to other documented records, consisted of some 21 wagons which started from St. Joseph, and another 39 added at Independence, Missouri. About the wagons, Cordelia had this to say: "Of all of the first 21 wagons there were only two true Conestoga wagons. These were both owned by William Tyler Vaughan and his big family. They had been used first in their move from West Virginia to Illinois, back again to West Virginia, and then west to Missouri...very sturdily built with both ends turned up and extending somewhat beyond the main part of the wagon."

According to William Jr., two men regarded as "shady characters" joined the group, both apparently uninvited. They were known as "Bad Brady" and "Dooley." Although they were said to be robbers who stole from wagon trains and, in the words of William Jr., "in cahoots with some of the Indians," it is not known if they engineered the episode described in the following paragraphs.

Along the trail, as they neared Oregon Territory, the wagon train came upon a band of Indians. At this point we quote from the story related to us by Cordelia Vaughan:

"While in the hills some days east of Fort Larimey, Rosemary Allen was picking flowers off to the side of the train and some Indians crawled up through the grass and grabbed her and soon were back to their horses. When the girl began to holler and the people of the train saw what was happening the train stopped and many of the men went after her. Several of the riders (upon) hearing her first

took after the Indians and tried to overtake them, but the Indians started shooting arrows and one lad was killed, while George Washington Vaughan was unfortunate enough to be captured by them. The men on the train decided there was no use searching after several days spent and so went on their way west.

"The wagon train, having been delayed several days while searching for the two, was several days behind the Indians. When they finally reached Fort Larimey and started to get supplies which they were running short of, they were told there were some Indians camped near there that were trying to trade two white children for horses. Hearing this, they went to the camp and found to their relief that it was the two that had been captured from their train. A deal was made and the children were soon back with their people once more. To get the children back they traded 6 horses for Rosemary and a cow and one horse for George Washington. The two were not hurt but were very tired. George had been tied each night so he could not get away and Rosemary had been kept in one of their tents."
[5](CORDELIA, p.41)

The wagon train continued on westward by way of the Green River, Bear River, and the tortuous Snake River canyons. Crossing the Snake near Fort Boise, they lost some of their livestock, finally reaching the Willamette River Valley where many of the families decided to settle. The Allens came to rest near present-day Salem, later moving on closer to Harrisburg; the Dishers, Macys, and Vaughans on into Linn County and then farther south to Lane County near Coburg; the Stevens near Eugene; the Speers along the McKinzie River east of present-day Springfield; and the Putnams, Moores and Marcoms in and around Eugene. For these and other stories, we are indebted to Cordelia Vaughan. Interestingly, the county immediately north of these settlements is named Benton County, but I have no knowledge of its namesake. There also is a small community west of Eugene named Vaughn.

And that really must end this chapter. We will have more to say about William and Fereby, including Maryland John Vaughan and his possible relationship to William in a later chapter which includes some new material by Lewis Vaughan. We shall also explore colonial records in a chapter on Vaughans in Virginia. And, after summarizing biographical material for numerous Vaughans in Wales, we shall examine some ships' passenger lists in our continuing search for clues to the background of our William Vaughan.

For additional information on other descendants of William and Fereby Vaughan I urge the reader to consult **Vaughan Pioneers**. There you will find a a great deal of information about William and Fereby's children, John, Samuel, Daniel, and William Jr., as well as many of their children and their children's children. Although **Vaughan Pioneers** is probably out of print, you will find it in a

number of public libraries and in the libraries of several genealogical societies. I found copies in the archives of the North Carolina Genealogical Society at Raleigh and in the Tennessee Library & Archives at Nashville. You really must examine this book to appreciate all the time and effort that Lewis Vaughan put into it. It is no exaggeration to say that it is the definitive volume on descendants of William and Fereby Vaughan in America.

In our next chapter we turn our attention to southern Wales, the homeland of countless numbers of Vaughans. What we find there may surprise you. Meanwhile, take heart, don't despair, and hang loose. We may yet identify William's father and mother! Or we may not.

Chapter Four

Tretower Court & Castle

Throughout this chapter we rely almost exclusively on the prior research and writing of C. A. Ralegh Radford, MA, DLitt, FBA, and the editorial work of David M. Robinson, BSc, PhD, as it appeared in the Third Edition of the CADW publication, **TRETOWER Court and Castle**. We have obtained the permission of Doctor Robinson "to reproduce aspects of the guide" which we have done in an appendix, and we again acknowledge his generosity with much thanks. Wherever references to this publication are made in the form of direct quotations, the word **CADW** shall be used either within the body of this work or in endnotes to so indicate.

Tretower, which means place of the tower, is reached by following A40, the old Roman thoroughfare, northwest from the town of Crickhowell for a distance of approximately three miles then a mile or so along A479 to the tiny village of Tretower. There, thirty to forty air miles north of Cardiff between Abergavenny and Brecon, one finds two striking examples of medieval buildings surrounded by farm and pastureland. On our visit, the first thing that caught our eye was the remains of the tower of Tretower Castle rising up against the sky and mountains. The second impression is one of a serene village and lush pasture, a perfect setting for the fat Charolais cattle that graze there. Finally, after driving by the old church, we arrived at Tretower Court whose facade and gatehouse still make a distinctive imprint on one's senses as an example of a fine fourteenth century manor house.

In any discussion of Tretower it is important to distinguish between the court and the castle, a distinction which becomes immediately obvious to all who visit the place. The remains of the castle are set off a few hundred yards from the court. Although the old castle is in ruins, the manor house known as Tretower Court stands to this very day in semi-restored condition, thanks largely to the work of CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments which also makes available to the visitor a tape-narrated tour of the major buildings and courtyard. Only a first-hand tour and a reading of the official guidebook can do these landmarks justice, and even then the long and involved history of Tretower is somewhat difficult to understand. At least two hours should be allotted to the tour and, if time permits, a leisurely second tour is recommended.

The castle in its first wooden form was constructed by a man named Picard near the end of the eleventh century, probably during the reign of William II, only a few years

after the arrival of William The Conquerer. Picard's son, Roger, added a shell keep some sixty years later. At that time King Stephan was on the throne of England. These fortifications were established by the invading Normans under their leader, Bernard de Neufmarche', who set up his headquarters at Brecon and ordered forts erected throughout southern Wales. Picard chose to build his fort a half mile from and on the north side of the River Usk where it commanded a view of two major routes into and out of the upper valley by way of the Usk and Rhiangoll.

After the conquering Normans took possession of southern Wales, the upper portion of the Usk River Valley was held for a number of years by constructing a number of fortifications, most of which were of the earth and timber kind. To serve as his primary means of defending his part of the valley, Picard erected a wooden fort atop a motte or earthen mound, and he surrounded this with a moat filled with water drawn from the Rhiangoll. Later his son Roger added to his property the neighboring fief of Skethrog (Llansantffraid), and it was he who probably replaced the timber fortifications with stone.

Thus, only a few short years after the arrival of William The Conquerer, the practice of awarding land to families who showed their loyalty to their ruler was established in southern Wales, with more than twenty such grants and fortifications in the county of Brecon alone. The families themselves were the owners of the properties which were theirs to pass on to their heirs so long as they continued to support those in power. It was this sort of arrangement established first for the Picards which would eventually lead to the ownership of Tretower Court and Castle by Roger Vaughan, the first Vaughan of Tretower, some three hundred years after Roger Picard began constructing his castle of stone.

The first Roger Picard passed his property - not yet known as Tretower - to his son, John, who in turn passed it on to his son, John, who controlled the property around 1200-1225. John's son, Roger, constructed the great tower around 1230-1248, and it is likely that the name Tretower came into use soon afterwards. The Picards were among the earliest donors to the Benedictine Monastery at Brecon Priory, which was founded by Bernard de Neumarche', and they apparently continued their support through successive generations. Roger Picard, the builder of the stone tower at Tretower, granted to the priory a small plot of land outside the west gate around 1230-1240, apparently at a time when he was in the process of having the circular tower constructed in the center of the motte. It was during this period that the Plantagenets came to power in England, but not in Wales where the Normans still held sway.

During the Welsh Rebellion under Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in 1263, with Henry III on the throne of England, it was reported that all of the native tenants of fortified lands in southern Wales had joined Llywelyn's cause. For the brief period of the revolt, the owners of Tretower may have switched loyalties as there is said to be a documentary reference of the same year in which Roger Picard and several lords of the district took oaths of 'homage or fealty to Llywelyn.' In any event, Roger's eldest son, Roger, fell heir to Tretower and held it until his death in 1297 when his son, John, took over the castle property and held it during the reign of King Edward I. There followed a period of thinly documented history in which the castle remained useful as a fortification but not as a home.

Tretower Court, the large two story manor house built around a courtyard, was constructed early in the fourteenth century by one of the female descendants of John Picard who died in 1305. The exact year when the manor house was first built is unknown but it probably occurred during the reign of Edward II or Edward III in the middle of the fourteenth century. CADW describes Tretower Court as "a late medieval defended house, which, perhaps better than any other surviving example, reflects the changes in fashion and taste of the wealthy landowners in Wales between 1300 and 1700."[1] (CADW, p.1)

The discovery of the re-use of architectural detail of around 1300 from the castle in some portions of the manor and court suggests that construction of a manor house and court probably began during the lifetime of the last John Picard. When the male line of succession ended in the Picard family with the death of John in 1305, the ownership of Tretower passed to Amicia Picard who married Ralph Bluet of Raglan Castle. At this time, construction of a more elaborate manor house had probably already begun in earnest.

In this chapter we have attempted to devote ourselves to the task of describing the castle and court, although we also address the matter of how the Vaughans came into possession of the property. We present a far more detailed story on the transfer of Tretower to the Vaughan Family in the following chapter titled **Vaughans of Tretower.**

THE CASTLE

Although researchers acknowledge that very little is known about the earliest earth-and-timber castle which was built by the first Picard at the turn of the eleventh century, a tour of the site bears out the speculations about its probable shape and nature.

The development of Tretower Castle may be conveniently described as occurring in three phases: first, the earth and timber fort built around 1090 during the reign of William II; then, the addition of a shell keep or stone fence

surrounding the motte around 1150 during the time of King Stephen; and, finally, the great stone tower and walls to the bailey which were erected during the period 1230-1248. These latter additions were made during the reign of Henry III. There were later additions and modifications for defensive purposes but the evidence points to the virtual abandonment of the castle as a residence by the early fourteenth century. It should be noted, however, that it remained a fortress and, in 1403, during the revolt of Owain Glyndwr, Sir James Berkeley was ordered to furnish and garrison Tretower and hold it for King Henry IV.

Most of the stone keep and the lower walls of the castle have disappeared, the work of vandals who sold the stones of Tretower or used them to construct private homes over the centuries. The National Library of Wales houses a sketch of Tretower Castle as seen from the south in 1741. This illustration by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck is reproduced herein by permission of the National Library. It shows the bailey walls with smaller towers to the right, all in a state of semi-ruin, and portions of the curtain wall surrounding the central tower still standing. From this sketch we can easily see that no more than about half of the castle complex was standing two hundred fifty years ago. Since then, even more of the stones have been torn down and carried away.

Tretower Castle is approached through a gate at the northern end of a meadow. From this direction, the remains of the thirteenth-century west bailey wall are to the right with more modern-day farm buildings now occupying space where once there stood an early medieval hall and stable. Traces of an arch which must have stood over the water-filled moat may still be seen.

Upon reaching the original entry to the castle, one must search diligently for what remains of the gatehouse which at one time must itself have been a tower consisting of two levels set into the inner wall that surrounded the central tower structure. In the center of the gatehouse is a pit that was originally spanned by a drawbridge which would have been pulled up against the gate when the castle owners wished to do so, as in the event of attack or to discourage unwanted visitors. A quick reference to the sketch of the Ground Floor Plan will aid in locating the various parts of the tower as its first floor existed in the thirteenth century.

Once you have located the position of the gatehouse at the lower right, you should have no difficulty then in identifying the location of the hall and solar, and the central part of the great tower itself. A kitchen is also indicated on the drawing. This was probably added later and may have included a pent roof. The remains of a fairly large semicircular fireplace may be seen in the kitchen, along with several square holes sloping upward through the wall to

provide a draught and to rid the area of smoke. Despite this medieval bit of technology, as the guide-narrator points out, the kitchen must have appeared more like a blacksmith shop than a place where food was prepared.

The solar was a private living room running north and south at the west end of the hall. Several windows and doorways have been blocked up as successive generations remodeled and readapted the castle to their own needs and desires. One such addition was a wall-walk just above the solar. Still another was an oven added in the basement beneath the solar where three windows were blocked to accomodate this addition.

The great central tower, as we have previously stated, was added around 1230-1248 by the Roger Picard who controlled Tretower during the reign of Henry III. Standing at the center of the old motte or high mound, it is the most prominent feature remaining. Its walls are some 9 feet in thickness. Two distinct lines are visible around the perimeter, the second indicating the level at which the third stage of construction was started. The top course which may have had a wooden hourd - a kind of fortified observation deck - is missing.

Among numerous features of interest within the tower circle itself is a fireplace with a sloping hood which indicates a residential apartment. On two higher levels are found recesses in the circular wall where floor joists have rotted away. Both the first and second floors have windows to provide light to these living areas, and the second level includes a vaulted passage which at one time led to a wooden bridge that provided access from within the tower to the outer wall-walk along the curtain or first-perimeter defense. From just outside the tower, one may more clearly see this doorway and traces where the roof was attached to the outer wall of the tower.

We leave the castle now and turn our attention to the court and manor house. For those who wish to have more information, we recommend the CADW publication, **Tretower Court and Castle**, ISBN 0-948329-11-4., The Third Edition, c 1986. A later edition is said to have been in the process of production in 1989-90.

THE COURT AND MANOR HOUSE

The east curtain wall of Tretower Court stands directly on the road from the main highway, just beyond the church. As one approaches along the road, the gable of the north range is at the far end and the gatehouse is at the other end. The gatehouse with its postern gate is an embellishment added to the court by Sir Thomas Vaughan around 1480. Before exploring the grounds of the court and manor house, let us return for a moment to take up once more the history of the ownership of Tretower.

You may recall that the last of the Picard line to own Tretower in the Picard name was Amicia who married Ralph Bluet of Raglan. Their descendant, Elizabeth, married James de Berkely in the late fourteenth century, and their eldest, James Berkely, was awarded the property probably around 1417 when he became known as Lord Berkely. Some three years later in 1420, Lord Berkeley sold Tretower to Sir William ap Thomas. Meanwhile, Sir David Gam's daughter, Gwladys, had married Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine. Throughout this portion of our discourse, a careful and periodic reference to the genealogical chart of the Tretower Vaughans or the illustration of the Tretower Succession is highly recommended to avoid confusion.

Enter the Vaughan Family. David Gam, Gwladys' father, and Roger Vaughan, Gwladys' husband, were knighted on the battlefield at Agincourt where both were slain as they pursued the cause of their king, Henry V. Shakespeare's **Henry V** in one scene reads the herald's list of names of those slain, including the name of Davy Gam. The effigy of Sir Roger Vaughan, ancestor of Vaughans of Bredwardine, Hergest, and Tretower, is in Bredwardine church. Although all of the children born to Gwladys Gam Vaughan and Sir Roger Vaughan are not recorded - and there may have been no others - history records at least two important facts concerning the life and death of their son, Roger Vaughan II.

James de Berkeley, husband of Elizabeth and father of James, died in 1405 at which time ownership of Tretower passed to the eldest son, James. In 1417, upon the death of his uncle, Thomas, James Berkeley became Lord Berkeley. At about this same time, his mother - the widowed Elizabeth - remarried, taking as her husband the Welsh squire, Sir William ap Thomas. Within the next few years, probably in the early 1420s, Sir William purchased from Lord Berkely both Tretower Court and Castle and Raglan Castle. Shortly thereafter, Sir William married as his second wife Gwladys Gam Vaughan, daughter of David Gam and widow of Sir Roger Vaughan I. Their son, William Herbert, inherited both of these lordships, his mother thus being the ancestress of the two families most closely connected with Tretower.

William Herbert, later named Earl of Pembroke, is said to have had a close and loving affection for his elder half-brother, Roger Vaughan II. In or about the year 1450, he made Roger a gift of Tretower Court and Castle. We quote from the Welsh guidebook:

"Sir William and Vaughan, as local landowners and agents of great noblemen, were able to exploit their position and abuse their power as a result of declining royal and noble government in south Wales during this period of the War of the Roses. They were both prominent Yorkists, and Sir William played a major role in the defeat of Henry VI's Lancastrian forces at Mortimer's Cross in 1461. Edward IV

was acclaimed king, and a few months later Sir William was raised to the peerage as Lord Herbert of Raglan, Chepstow and Gower. As a trusted friend and adviser to the new king, he was evidently being groomed to replace Jasper Tudor as the effective ruler of south Wales. Lord Herbert's rapid and continued advancement under Edward IV is itself reflected in his sumptuous building at Raglan Castle. His career continued to blossom until, in 1468, he was created Earl of Pembroke, a dignity he did not enjoy for long. He was executed following the defeat[2] of the royal forces at the Battle of Edgecote in 1469." (CADW, p.5)

We are told that the fortunes of Sir Roger Vaughan II, the original Vaughan of Tretower, rose apace with those of his half-brother benefactor, Sir William Lord Herbert, who procured for him a series of grants in Brecknock (Powys) and Glamorgan, eventually[3] making of him "the richest commoner" in south Wales. (IBID.)

Glanmor Williams comments on the architecture in Wales during the two and one-half centuries from 1400 to 1650, a period he refers to as "one of the great ages of Welsh vernacular architecture."

"Some notable houses built at this time," Williams says, "still exemplify the superb and ambitious craftsmanship responsible for them. Bryndraenog in Radnorshire is the largest surviving medieval house of its kind in Wales and remains today a prosperous farmhouse, standing virtually complete. Another fine house still to be seen is Tretower Court in Breconshire, home of Sir Roger Vaughan, who rebuilt and considerably[4] enlarged the accomodation there between 1457 and 1470." (WILLIAMS-REF, p.111)

Roger Vaughan II began reconstructing Tretower Court on a much grander scale probably around 1457 as Williams has noted. Although he had not the resources of his half-brother, Sir William, who made a veritable mansion of Raglan, Sir Roger created what was without doubt one of the finest family manor houses in all of Wales. Knighted in 1464 during the reign of the Yorkist King Edward IV, Sir Roger Vaughan II apparently resided at Tretower Court until 1471. During this time he had become "a veteran Yorkist retainer" who served the crown in ways deemed most suitable and appropriate. At the behest of King Edward IV, Sir Roger was sent forth to capture the Tudors who were then in flight. Success attended their efforts at the Battle of Tewkesbury in May of 1471 and the Tudors fled to take up refuge at Chepstow Castle. During their retreat, Jasper Tudor was able to capture Sir Roger Vaughan II who was then taken to Chepstow where he was promptly beheaded, ostensibly to avenge Vaughan's execution of Jasper's father, Owen Tudor, some ten years earlier.

During the tenure of Sir Roger Vaughan II, the north range of Tretower Court was rebuilt and a west range was added. Roger's son, Thomas, was created Knight of the Bath in 1475. During his ownership of Tretower, the impressive gatehouse to Tretower Court was added. We have no immediate record of other children born to Sir Roger Vaughan II, the first Vaughan of Tretower but this should not be taken to mean that there were no other children. Ownership of Tretower passed from Sir Thomas, first to his eldest son, Roger, and then to the latter's younger brother, Henry. Again, we have no record of birth of other children to Sir Thomas which is not to say that there were no others. Indeed, the manner of keeping records of the day and the focus on primogenture combine throughout history to preclude full knowledge of the identify of all of the descendants in this and countless other families. Likewise, as in their father's case, we have no record of children born to either this Roger or Henry other than one Christopher Vaughan, who inherited Tretower and became High Sheriff of Brecknock in 1547. At this point in history, the reign of Edward VI, son of Jane Seymour and Henry VII, had just begun. With the Tudors then in power, it is not known how this owner of Tretower managed to maintain cordial relations with the crown but apparently there were no major difficulties despite the Vaughans' tradition of opposing the Tudors, often in bloody confrontations.

In succeeding years, work went forward to maintain the court and manor house as a fortified home, the castle largely having fallen into a state of ruin. The property was then passed to the next generation through a William Vaughan followed by still yet another William Vaughan who served as High Sheriff in the county in 1591. Again we have two generations of Tretower Vaughans wherein only the eldest sons are of record. In this, our search, the question naturally arises, "Who were the other children in each generation, what happened to them, where did they go?"

William Vaughan, High Sheriff, married Frances, the widow of Roger Vaughan of Trephilip and reputedly an illegitimate daughter of Thomas Somerset who was the son of the second Earl of Worcester. This William died in 1613, leaving at least two sons, Charles, who inherited Tretower, and Thomas, the latter the father of twins Henry and Thomas Vaughan. For reasons that will become apparent, we have included in this book separate chapters on both Henry and Thomas.

Charles Vaughan, eldest son and primary heir of William Vaughan and Frances Somerset Vaughan, served his county of Brecon as High Sheriff in 1621 and again in 1625. Upon his death in 1636, he passed over his son William and any other children he may have sired, and bequeathed Tretower to his grandson, Edward, who died without issue. The property then passed to Edward's sister Margaret who married Thomas Morgan

of Maesgwartha. Their son, Vaughan Morgan, continued to live at Tretower as did his son Charles who reclaimed his mother's maiden name to become known as Charles Vaughan. After his death in 1704, ownership passed on to his son, also named Charles who married Margaret Powell, heiress to the estate of Hugh Powell of Skethrog, rector of Llansantffraed from 1668 to 1717. Margaret Powell's mother who is unnamed, was the widow of Charles Williams, owner of Skethrog. She was also a daughter of Frances Vaughan Morgan and John Morgan, and a granddaughter of Charles Vaughan and Eleanor Norton Vaughan, thus connecting her twice to the Vaughans of Tretower. Having acquired the Skethrog property, Charles Vaughan and Margaret Powell Vaughan changed their place of residence from Tretower to Skethrog. Their son, Charles, the third so-named, also used Skethrog as his home. Upon his death in 1777, his son, Charles Vaughan IV, came into possession of the property but six years later in 1783, Tretower was sold as a farmplace to the Parry family, thus ending some 333 years of ownership through fourteen generations of the Vaughan family. Ultimately, Tretower was bought by the Brecknock Society with the aid of the Pilgrim Trust. In 1930 it was transferred to the Commissioners of Works for preservation and repair, and then to the care of CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments.

Before returning to a description of the court, it should be noted that in all of the foregoing discourse involving at least fourteen generations of Vaughans of Tretower, we have in most instances been able to name only one or at most two members of each generation, and then in but the briefest of detail. It should be obvious to any and all who would research this family and their comings and goings in Wales, in other parts of Great Britain, or in the United States, that there are numerous other members of most of these fourteen generations who moved on to seek their fortunes elsewhere, independent of their immediate family where primogeniture cut off all save the eldest sons (in most instances) from an inheritance. The facts and circumstances we have recited here with regard to each of these generations of Tretower Vaughans should provide some clues that may prove helpful in pursuing further the matter of which of these Tretower Vaughans emigrated to America to sire branches in that new country. As the reader will see in due course, this writer is convinced within a tenth of a shadow of doubt that his William Vaughan, who married Fereby Benton, is a son or son of a son of one of the Tretower Vaughans, and that William was born either in Wales or to a Tretower Vaughan who emigrated to America prior to 1750.

We shall discuss a number of the known possibilities later in this book. Some important facts that should be noted and kept firmly in mind are these: (1) William Vaughan was born around 1750, either in America or in Wales. (2) Tretower Court & Castle, although in a state of decay, were

still in the possession of William Vaughan's Vaughans when he was born, and the homeplace was not sold to the Parry family until 1783 when William was in America and married to Fereby Benton. Their first child, my great-great grandfather, Thomas Vaughan, was born in North Carolina around 1773. (3) William would have had first-hand knowledge of "our place in Wales" regardless of whether he was born there or in America. (4) The stories my grandfather told me and other grandchildren were handed down from his father, James, who in turn heard them from his father, Thomas, who was himself ten years of age when Tretower Court and Castle were sold to the Parry family. (5) Similarly, Daniel, a younger brother to Thomas, would have been privy to the same stories, those later handed down to our Vaughan cousins in Northwest Arkansas by way of both the Vaughans and the Fitches.

Other such inferences and conclusions may be stated with more weight than mere conjecture, and we shall explore some of the possible paths that could lead to the identity of our Welsh emigre' later in other portions of this book. At the moment, let us return once more to our discussion of Tretower Court.

The gatehouse along the east side of Tretower Court built around 1480 by Sir Thomas Vaughan allows the visitor to enter directly from the road into the courtyard itself whereupon the interior wall of most of the west range may be seen directly across the court. What you now see is a classical seventeenth century facade including a bay window to the right projecting out from the solar or main living quarters of Sir Roger Vaughan II. This part of the manor house - the west range - was actually built by Sir Roger in the third quarter of the fifteenth century to provide a more comfortable quarters for both the family and the retainers who were, as the guidebook reminds us, "an essential part of a household of any standing in this period."

By referring to the illustration of the floorplan of Tretower Court, one may see the scheme of the rooms as they existed following the remodeling and expansion efforts of Sir Roger Vaughan. On the ground floor of the west range, starting at the north end, is a kitchen which is adjacent to a solar with fireplace, followed in turn by a great hall with several windows and fireplaces, service rooms and passages and, finally at the south end, a mess hall or dining area. The solar or private living area featured a fireplace flanked by decorative stone windows. A more modern touch in this family room was the elaborate stone window which was probably added by Sir Thomas Vaughan, giving the manor an even more gracious aspect of comfort and convenience. Traces of the original painted woodwork may still be seen above the doorway leading from the west-range solar into the great hall.

The elaborate, even luxurious, nature of the house may be envisioned from the magnificent wooden beams open to the roof above the great hall in the west range. They include cusped wind braces and, as the guidebook tells us, "reflect the growing wealth and status of Sir Roger Vaughan in the 1460s." The second floor of the west range was reached during the fifteenth century by stairs in the south curtain wall. These stairs, however, were closed off in the seventeenth century to be replaced by stairs that have been restored to provide access to the second floor from the southeast corner of the service area. The second-floor rooms in the west range were matched for beauty and comfort by the appointments Sir Roger Vaughan added to his own quarters on the upper floor of the north range. Although the old partitions have been cleared away, the trusses filled with lath and plaster mark their original locations.

The north range to the visitor's right upon entering the courtyard is the earliest surviving part of the manor house. Modified by Sir Roger Vaughan in the fifteenth century, it consists of a two-story rectangular building with a kitchen and what may have been a meeting or courtroom on the lower level, and a series of rooms which were probably remodeled in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to provide private apartments. However, when the upper floor of the north range was refurbished by Sir Roger Vaughan, a balcony was added to provide access to no more than five rather large rooms including a large bedroom with private latrine and fireplaces and other amenities at the far west end; a solar or living room leading into a long hall in the mid portion; and a divided guest apartment at the east end. Here, in this apartment, one may still find stone seats and a fireplace in the north wall, both from the original fourteenth-century house.

To the south of the courtyard once stood several other buildings, now long vanished. Traces of their existence remain, however, and one may easily imagine the uses to which these were put, including a place for storing food, a stable for horses, and perhaps even living quarters for guards and retainers. Portions of the surrounding wall to the south and west remain from the seventeenth century with obvious holes for muskets. A fuller explanation is available at the site itself and, indeed, an in-person visit is highly recommended as the only way to really gain an insight into and an appreciation of the true nature of both Tretower Court and Tretower Castle.

Chapter Five

Vaughans of Tretower

Some Early Welsh-English History

To set the stage for this discussion, let us review a bit of Welsh-English history. In doing so in this rather hurried and abbreviated fashion, the reader should bear in mind that we risk an oversimplification. However, we shall bear the risk in the hope and expectation that we shall at the very least place events in which the Vaughan family is involved in a somewhat better historical perspective and time frame than would be the case without such a recitation.

Perhaps a good place to start would be the beginning of known Welsh history, and a good interpreter of that early history was one Alexander Jones, M.D., a Welshman who on the 28th of February 1855 delivered an address to the Saint David's Benevolent Society in the Welsh Congregational Church on Eleventh Street in New York City. Despite the seeming likelihood that Doctor Jones sided with the Welsh-Puritan movement and thus opposed our loyalist Vaughans, he presents a fairly even-handed account of some early Welsh history.

The Cymry or Cambrian race of people have had a country and a language on the island of Britain for twenty-five hundred years which, for the most part, they successfully defended against many would-be invaders. Jones repeats an oft-told tale of a people who started "west from the Crimea, the present Golgotha of the European war of civilization, against Tartarian barbarism, and (who) trace (their) exodus west, through parts of Germany and northern Italy to a final home in Gaul and Britain...a march to this promised land marked by bloodly conflicts with warlike nations that sought to enslave them, among whom the longest and most powerful enemy were the Romans."

According to Jones, the Welsh have always called themselves Cymru of Cymry, Romanised into Cambria or Cambrians. Since the native Cambrians had come into Britain from Gaul, the Saxons regarded them as Gauls but, as was the Saxon custom, they substituted W for G, and the country came to be known as Waels or Wales, and the people Waelsh or Welsh.

The ancient Silures are another tribe of early residents whose territory was the eastern portion of South Wales. They opposed every known invader, apparently with success. After the Romans departed, two noted Silurian survivors were said to be Vortimer, son of Vortigern or Gwrtheyrn, and

"Ambrosius and the great king Arthur, who was succeeded by many other chiefs of great fame in Welsh history." [1] (CYMRY, p.87)

Obviously the history of Wales during much of this early period is fraught with great mystery and suspicion as to its true nature. Much of what we know depended on the oral traditions of its people.

The three leading lights of the Norman period were Robert II, Duke of Normandy, sometimes known as "The Devil" who died in 1035; William I, Duke of Normandy, better known as "William The Conqueror" and to some as "William The Norman", 1066-1087; and William II, also known as "Rufus", 1087-1100. It was William I, The Conqueror, who seized control of England from the Anglo-Saxons in 1066. During the struggle for power, Edmund II, his son Edward, and grandson Edgar were forced to relinquish control under the onslaught of the invading Normans. In 1077 the king of South Wales was Rhys ap Tewdwr.

As we have seen in our chapter on Tretower Court and Castle, only a few short years after the arrival of William The Conquerer the practice of awarding land to families who demonstrated fealty to their ruler was established in southern Wales, with more than twenty such grants made in the county of Brecon alone where, in most instances, fortifications were erected. The families themselves were the owners of the properties which were theirs to pass on to their heirs as long as they continued to support those in power. It was this sort of arrangement, established first for the Picards, which eventually led to the ownership of Tretower Court and Castle by Roger Vaughan, the first Vaughan of Tretower, some three hundred years after Roger Picard began constructing his castle of stone.

During most of the first half of the thirteenth century northern Wales witnessed the rise to prominence of a formidable leader in Llywelyn ab Iorwerth, better known as Llywelyn the Great. From 1202 until 1240, he set himself up as virtual ruler over the principality of Gwynedd, claiming and receiving the allegiance of other Welsh princes and taking unto himself the style and bearing of Prince of Wales. In 1212 he negotiated a treaty with the king of France, influencing King John to include Welsh demands in the Magna Carta which was signed at Runnymede in 1215. During his reign and until his death in 1240, Llywelyn the Great played a decisive role in the coming of age of all of Wales as an integral part of what would later become Great Britain.

For much of its early history Wales had two distinct geographic and political parts - The Principality to the west, excluding the southwest peninsula, and The Marches to the east, the latter so-named from the French *marche*, meaning frontier. Larger than the Principality, it was this

latter region separating England from the shires of Anglesey, Caernarfon, and Merioneth, where the Norman invaders first established strongholds. There, within the Marches, the landed gentry prevailed as a force to be reckoned with. Whereas the Principality was generally under the control of the king - his eldest son usually named Prince of Wales as its nominal head - the Marcher lords and their supporters comprised an entity not always allied with the incumbent royal head of England.

With the signing of the Magna Carta, Llywelyn's standing and importance grew immensely. From his earliest triumphs, members of his own family had joined his cause, working for him in a variety of roles, often acquiring considerable wealth and power in the process. One of the first of note was Cynrig ab Iorwerth whose son, Ednyfed ab Iorwerth Fychan or Ednyfed the Younger, also joined in the cause and subsequently became almost literally the right hand of Llywelyn the Great. One story tells of Ednyfed's success in battle against the forces of the earl of Chester around 1210 after which he is said to have presented to Llywelyn three bloody English heads which presumably later became symbols on the arms of Ednyfed Fychan and his family.

Ednyfed represented Llywelyn in negotiations with other princes, marcher lords, church leaders and even the king himself. He married Gwenllian, daughter of Lord Rhys who was widely regarded as the leading Welsh prince of his time. This marriage further elevated his standing in the eyes of everyone, including King Henry III who is said to have sent a silver cup as a token of his respect when Ednyfed passed through London en route to the Holy Land in 1235.

When Llywelyn the Great died in 1240, Ednyfed Fychan helped pass the mantle of power to Llywelyn's son, David, who then ruled over Gwynedd until 1246 when both Ednyfed and Prince David died. Llywelyn ap Gruffydd succeeded his uncle, Prince David, and a power struggle then ensued throughout Gwynedd in northern Wales. Upon the rise to power of Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, Ednyfed Fychan's sons eventually entered his service and, with their help, Llywelyn the Last asserted his dominion over all of Wales from the Lyn peninsula in the west to the River Dee in the east "with client Welsh lordships to the south in Powys, Cardiganshire and Carmarthenshire, and conquests as far as Montgomery in the southeast and the borders of Glamorgan in the south."[2] (GRIFFITHS-TUDOR, p10)

Thus, by the middle of the thirteenth century, Ednyfed Fychan and his sons gained both property and great power throughout northern Wales and, with lesser success, in the south. Three of Ednyfed Fychan's grandsons also gained favor with the king. In 1278, the Plantagenet King, Edward I, "restored certain lands to Tudur, Goronwy Fychan, and Hywel, who were very likely the sons of Goronwy ab Ednyfed Fychan."[3] (GRIFFITH-TUDOR, p16)

When Tudor Hen pledged his loyalty to Edward I in 1296, the king's son, Edward of Caernarfon, was named the first English Prince of Wales. The fortunes and personal power of all three grandsons of Ednyfed Fychan and their offspring continued to grow until one of their number would eventually succeed to the throne of England. But, let us return to the land of the Vaughans in southern Wales where the Picards were in possession of the property that would one day pass to Sir Roger Vaughan.

The first Roger Picard passed his property - not yet known as Tretower - to his son, John, who in turn passed it on to his son, John, who controlled the property around 1200-1225. This John's son, Roger, constructed the great tower around 1230-1248, and it is likely that the name Tretower came into use soon afterwards.

By the time the great tower was built, control of England was in the hands of the Plantagenets. The line of succession had passed from William I to William II to Henry I to Stephen, to Henry II who married Eleanor of Aquitaine, to Richard I, "Coeur de Lion", to John, and then to Henry III (1216-1272) during whose reign Tretower was built by Roger Picard. The Picards were apparently responsible citizens being, among other things, the earliest donors to the Benedictine Monastery at Brecon Priory, which was founded by Bernard de Neumarche', and they continued their support through several generations. Roger Picard, the builder of the stone tower at Tretower, granted to the priory a small plot of land outside the west gate around 1230-1240, apparently at a time when he was in the process of having the circular tower constructed in the center of the motte.

The reign of Henry III was no less turbulent than that of his predecessors. During the Welsh Rebellion under Llywelyn ap Gruffydd in 1263, it was reported that all of the native tenants of fortified lands in southern Wales had joined Llywelyn's cause. For the brief period of the revolt, the owners of Tretower may very well have switched loyalties as there is said to be a documentary reference of the same year in which Roger Picard and several lords of the district took oaths of 'homage or fealty to Llywelyn.' Whatever transpired in this regard, Roger's eldest son, Roger, fell heir to Tretower and held it until his death in 1297 when his son, John, took over the castle property and continued to hold it during the reign of King Edward I. There followed a period of thinly documented history in which the castle remained useful as a fortification but not as a home.

The exact year when the manor house known as Tretower Court was first built is unknown but it probably occurred during the reign of Edward II or Edward III in the middle of the fourteenth century. The reuse of architectural detail of around 1300 from the castle in some portions of the manor and court suggests that construction of a manor house and court probably began during the lifetime of the last John

Picard. When the male line of succession ended in the Picard family with the death of John in 1305, the ownership of Tretower passed to Amicia Picard who married Ralph Bluet of Raglan Castle. At this time, construction of a more elaborate manor house had probably already begun in earnest.

Almost a hundred years later, in September of 1400, Owain Glyndwr led what most historians in hindsight characterize as an ill-advised uprising against England. Owain's revolt, which has come to be known as The Glyndwr (Glendower) Rebellion, sought to re-establish an independent Welsh principality. Parliament reacted angrily, enacting the Lancastrian penal code which further angered most Welshmen. Although the forces of Henry IV were able to put down the uprising, Owain Glyndwr's Tudor kinsmen continued to seek ways and means to overcome English control of their country.

In southern Wales, Amicia Picard's descendant, Elizabeth, married James de Berkely in the late fourteenth century, and their eldest, James Berkely, was awarded the Tretower property probably around 1417 when he became known as Lord Berkely. Some three years later in 1420, Lord Berkeley sold Tretower to Sir William ap Thomas. During the years leading up to this transaction control of England had passed from the Plantagenets to the Lancastrians, from Richard II who was deposed in 1399 and later murdered, to Henry IV (1399-1413), to Henry V (1413-1422) to Henry VI who reigned from 1422 until he was deposed by the Yorkists and Edward IV in 1461. Meanwhile in southern Wales Sir David Gam's daughter, Gwladys, had married Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine.

Gwladys Gam's father, David, and Roger Vaughan, Gwladys' husband, crossed the English Channel in 1415 where they played important roles in the English victory over the French in the battle at Agincourt where both were slain as they pursued the cause of their Lancastrian king, Henry V. In Shakespeare's **Henry V**, the ninth and last of a series of his plays in which he dramatizes successive events in English history, the king reads a list of names of those slain, including the name of Davy Gam. In Scene 8 of Act IV, King Henry asks, "Where is the number of our English dead?" A Herald hands him the list and the king reads aloud from it: "Edward the Duke of York, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Richard Kikely, Davy Gam, esquire. None else of name, and of all other men, but five and twenty (105)."

David Gam, the father of Vaughan ancestress, Gwladys Gam, had been regarded as a great warrior long before his death on the field of battle at Agincourt. His formal name was Dafydd ap Llewellen, and the name Gam was a nickname which means "squinting." Following their heroic efforts in behalf of the cause of King Henry V, both David Gam and Roger Vaughan were knighted posthumously, although some historians maintain that their knighthood was bestowed at Agincourt before their death. Another supporter of the Yorkist cause at Agincourt who survived that battle was Rhys ap Thomas who

later married Gwladys Gam Vaughan, widow of the slain Sir Roger Vaughan I. In 1464, Sir Roger's son, the first Vaughan of Tretower, was also made a knight under the then-reigning King Edward IV, the Vaughan-Herbert allegiance having switched to the Yorkists side.

Notes from History of Brecknockshire

Vaughans of Bredwardine, Brecknockshire or Breconshire, and Newton, as well as Vaughans of Carmarthenshire and Golden Grove, and many Vaughans of northern Wales probably were of the same family. Indeed the clan is so numerous and was so long a part of Wales that it is likely that there was a single male genetic ancestor for many if not most of those who bear the name Vaughan in Wales, England, and even in Ireland, although in the latter instance one line of Vaughan is said to be a derivative of a surname spelled Mohan. In Wales the spelling variants, as previously noted, have included Warwyn, Fychan, Vachan, Vagan, and Vaughan, among others. Some of the earlier names have their own special meaning: Warwyn means white-shouldered; Fychan means the younger; Vachan, small of stature.

Realizing that the foregoing constitutes what some may regard as a somewhat reckless assertion, the reader is invited to examine Figures 6 through 13 in the Appendix for confirmation of the early widespread proliferation of Vaughans in Wales and England. It should be noted that many if not all of these Vaughans may trace their ancestry back to a twelfth century ancestor who was described by Theophilus Jones.

According to Jones, "He was known by the names of Moreiddig Warwyn, the first appelation (the mighty jealous one) being undoubtedly descriptive of his mind, and the next, (Whitenape or white shoulder) of some singularity or mark upon his body; tradition indeed tells us that he was born with a snake around his neck, from whence the place of his nativity, Llechryd in Radnorshire, abbreviated from Lle dychrynllyd, the place of horror, was so called, and from this supposed event his posterity took their arms, sable three boys' heads couped at the shoulders, each having a snake wreathed round his neck proper.

"He lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, but of his exploits or the time of his death, history has not afforded us the smallest information, his descendant in the fourth generation was of Llechryd, and called Rosser fawr or Roger the great, and his son Rosser Bychian, Fychan, (since corrupted into Vaughan) or Roger the little. In his time, from their connections, they seem to have been in opulent circumstances, but the founder of the family in point of wealth was Gwalter y Sais, or Walter the Englishman, a contemporary and perhaps a companion of Einon Sais, in the wars in France, in time of Edward the third.

"Upon his return home, this Gwalter Sais married Florence, daughter and heiress of Sir Walter Bredwardine a lineal descendant of Sir Pers Bredwardine, who lived in the time of Edward the first, and was elder brother of Sir Roger Bredwardine of Crickhowel (sic), and as the adventures of this Walter, in the service of the king of England, increased the wealth of the family, his grandson was born to distinguish himself and to throw a lustre on his descendants by the gallantry of his conduct on the plains of France, where the exploits of his grandsire have been forgotten.

"Sir Roger Vaughan, one of the heroes of Agincourt, left three legitimate and one natural son and several daughters, from the first son of Sir Roger Vaughan, sprung Vaughan of Penbrey in Caermarthenshire, afterwards by marriage with an heiress of the junior house of Tretower, or Porthaml; from whom the first lady Ashburnham: a second brother of this branch of Penbrey was of Wilts, and a still younger son was the paternal ancestor of Jenkins of Pant y nawel in Glamorganshire.

"The descendants of the second son were the Vaughans of Hergest, who terminated in the male line with the father of Frances, who married Vaughan of Trebarried, and Vaughans of Clyro, now of Courtfield in Monmouthshire. Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, the third son, is almost intitled (sic) to be considered as the head of a tribe; for his issue by different women, whether wives or concubines is by no means clear, nor does it seem to have been very material in his time, were so numerous, that they are with difficulty followed. The eldest shoot was preserved in the house of Tretower, and afterwards of Scethrog, from whence two slips sprouted, the one planted at L'angrywyne and the other at Newton in Llansaintfread (Thomas=Denise) both of which soon withered (presumably the issue of Henry and Thomas whose line soon ended); the second son of Sir Roger was ancestor of the first Vaughans of Porthaml, whose heiress married Vaughan of Penbrey as before mentioned, a junior son of this line was Vaughan, ancestor of the house of Merthyr, whose descendants again were the Vaughans of Trebarried, who terminated with the father of Mrs. Harley, and the second branch of the Merthyr Vaughans ended in the male line with the father of Mrs. Chabert.

"The issue of a fourth son of Sir Roger Vaughan were the Vaughans of Cathedine, Penkelly, and Llanvillo. The descendants of a fifth son, were sometime of Trebarried, so called from them, and took the surname of Parry, as did also the posterity of the sixth son, Sir Thomas Vaughan, beheaded in the time of Richard the third, of which family, the last named in the pedigrees is Sir Thomas Parry, chancellor to the exchequer, in the time of Elizabeth." [4] (BRECKNOCKSHIRE, p.262)

From the preceding it now seems clear that the Parrys were related to the Vaughans. Some interesting information

concerning early Vaughans was obtained from Weis' **The Magna Charta Sureties -1215** which gives us the names of four Vaughans: Sir Roger Vaughan, Knight of Talgarth and Portheme, son of Sir Roger Vaughan and Denise, married Elizabeth Somerset; Ellen Vaughan, first wife of Thomas Gwyn of Trecastle; Margaret Vaughan, second wife of Owen Humphrey who was born in 1625 and died in 1699; and Elizabeth Vaughan, daughter of the Right Reverend Richard Vaughan, Bishop of Chester, married The Reverend Thomas Mallory, Dean of Chester, who died at Chester 3 April 1644.

For a better understanding of these early lines, further study of the pedigrees in the Appendix is recommended. A lack of dates and, in some instances, full names and places, further complicates these pedigrees which are rarely complete. However, few families have access to as much early information on their line as do the Vaughans of Wales although, admittedly, those children in each generation whose names are not a matter of record pose a sometimes insoluble problem for the genealogical researcher.

Bredwardine Church is the repository of the effigy and remains of Sir Roger Vaughan, ancestor of Vaughans of Bredwardine, Hergest, and Tretower. There is no known record of the children born to Gwladys Gam Vaughan and Sir Roger Vaughan other than Roger II and indeed there may have been no others. However, it is known that the Sir Thomas Vaughan who was "prominent on the Yorkist side in the Wars of the Roses" was with Prince Edward at Ludlow when news reached him of the death of Edward IV. Edward V never ascended the throne but, according to some historians, "mysteriously disappeared" in 1483. This Thomas Vaughan is widely regarded as the "youngest illegitimate son of Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower."[5] (HUTCHINSON, p.5)

The same writer offers an even more interesting story concerning this Tretower Vaughan and the "disappearance" of Edward V: "With Rivers, Grey, and others, he (Thomas Vaughan) set out for London with Edward V in their charge, but at Stony Stratford they were arrested on the orders of Richard and Buckingham, and sent as prisoners to the north. At Pontefract they were tried, sentenced to death, and executed on 23 June 1483, two days before Richard declared himself king." Hutchinson relies on a manuscript by Waite.[6] (HUTCHINSON, pp.5-6) He also reminds us that a scene in Act Three of Shakespeare's Richard III depicts Sir Richard Ratcliff before Pomfret Castle with halberds, carrying Rivers, Grey and Vaughan to death. Vaughan's ghost is among those that trouble the sleep of King Richard III in the last act of that play. This Thomas Vaughan who was, as we have stated, most likely the youngest illegitimate son of Sir Roger Vaughan II, is often confused by some writers as the father of Henry Vaughan, The Silurist.

History records at least two important facts concerning the life and death of Roger Vaughan II, the son of Sir Roger

Vaughan I and Gwladys Gam Vaughan. James de Berkeley, husband of Elizabeth and father of James, died in 1405 at which time ownership of Tretower passed to the eldest son, James. In 1417, upon the death of his uncle, Thomas, and under the reign of Henry V, James Berkeley became Lord Berkeley. At about this same time, his mother - the widowed Elizabeth - remarried, taking as her husband the Welsh squire, Sir William ap Thomas. Within the next few years, probably in the early 1420s, Sir William purchased from Lord Berkely both Tretower Court and Castle and Raglan Castle. Shortly thereafter, Sir William married as his second wife Gwladys Gam Vaughan, daughter of David Gam and widow of Sir Roger Vaughan I. Their son, William Herbert, inherited both of these lordships, his mother thus being the ancestress of the two families most closely connected with Tretower. The effigies of Gwladys Gam Vaughan Herbert and her second husband, William ap Thomas, also known as Sir William Herbert, Lord of Raglan, are in the Herbert Chapel in St. Mary's at Abergavenny.

It was said that William Herbert, son of Gwladys Gam Vaughan and William ap Thomas Herbert had a close and loving affection for his elder half-brother, Roger Vaughan II. In or about the year 1450, William Herbert, now Earl of Pembroke, made a gift of Tretower Court and Castle to Roger Vaughan. In speaking of this relationship and the property transaction deriving therefrom, Theophilus Jones tells us that Sir Roger Vaughan "not only partook of the earl's possessions in the hundred of Crickhowel, but had also the lordships of Cantreff-selyff, Penkelly, Merthyr Tydvil and Llandimor, the latter in Gower, so that he became by far the richest commoner in Breconshire." [7] (BRECKNOCKSHIRE, p.419)

All Welsh and English historians agree that the Glyndwr Rebellion left many parts of Wales in disarray during the early fifteenth century. "The great noblemen who owned lordships in Southern and Eastern Wales, and filled the most senior offices in the royal shires of the North and West, were mostly absentees, handing real power and opportunities for political, social and economic advancement over to their local agents." [8] (GRIFFITHS-TUDOR, p44)

Glanmor Williams comments on leading figures in Wales at the time Roger Vaughan came into possession of Tretower. "A relative of (The Duke of) Warwick - Edward Nevill - was lord of Abergavenny, while two influential client families to York and Warwick, the Herberts and Vaughans, were dominant at Raglan and the surrounding region. The other major figure in southeast Wales was Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham and lord of Newport and Brecon, who was a loyal adherent to the Lancastrian dynasty...In the Marches of Wales the duke of York began to drum up support for himself in 1451-2." [9] (WILLIAMS-REF, p.179)

Williams has more to say about this period of property acquisition: "Roger Vaughan of Tretower secured extensive

lands in the west country, and his son, Thomas, was appointed receiver of the lordships of Brecon, Hay, and Huntingdon during the minority of the Stafford heir. Another Vaughan - Thomas, son of Roger Vaughan of Monmouth - who was to have a particularly distinguished career as a diplomat and administrator in Edward IV's service, was also well rewarded at this time. John Dwn, like the Herberts and the Vaughans, had steadfastly adhered to Edward's cause and received Laugharne, part of the confiscated property of the Earl of Wiltshire, and other lands." [10] (IBID., p.195)

Six years following Roger Vaughan's acquisition of Tretower, Edmund Tudor waged a successful campaign which resulted in his occupation of Carmarthen Castle. In August of 1456, Sir William Herbert assembled an army of some 2,000 men who marched on Carmarthen where they regained possession of its castle and took Edmund Tudor as prisoner in the name of the Duke of York. Accompanying Herbert were his brother-in-law Sir Walter Devereux and members of the Vaughan family. Shortly after his imprisonment, Edmund Tudor died and, while there is debate over the circumstances of his death, some believed that he had been mistreated by his captors. Herbert, Devereux and the Vaughans were nonetheless held blameless. Upon the death of Edmund Tudor, his younger brother Jasper left his honored place with King Henry to take Edmund's place as justiciar to the king in Wales where Jasper extended his power and influence. By 1460 he had recruited supporters for the House of Lancaster and Prince Edward throughout southern Wales and, when the new Yorkist regime demanded the surrender of Denbigh Castle, Jasper and his forces ignored his order.

In October of 1460, Queen Margaret assembled a force which eventually confronted the Yorkists on the 30th of December at Wakefield where the Duke of York was slain. Control and leadership of the Yorkists then fell to York's eldest son, Edward. It is said that the heads of both York and the Duke of Salisbury were placed on the gates of the city of York, a paper crown adorning the head of the would-be king.

Meanwhile Jasper Tudor and the Earl of Wiltshire put together another army and marched north toward Herfordshire. Their forces included Thomas and Owain, sons of Gruffydd ap Nicholas, Perrots from Pembrokeshire, and Jasper's father, Owen Tudor. Moving to meet them was an opposing force under Edward, Earl of March. With Edward near Ludlow were Sir William Herbert, his brother Richard, Sir Walter Devereux, and Roger Vaughan of Tretower among others. On the second or third day of February 1461 - historians fail to agree on the exact day - the two forces met at Mortimer's Cross in Herfordshire, about six miles from Wigmore, one of York's castles. According to historian Edward Hall, Jasper Tudor and the Earl of Wiltshire escaped, but 3,000 were slain and Owen Tudor was captured. Edward, said to have been

remorseful and seeking vengeance for the death of his own father a month earlier, ordered the execution of Jasper Tudor's father, Owen. Jasper Tudor retreated to Pembroke and vowed swift revenge. [11](GRIFFITHS-TUDOR, pp.52-53)

Writers differ on the role played by Sir Roger Vaughan II in the death of Owen Tudor. Some say he carried out the execution while others, including Glanmor Williams, maintain that "He (Owen) was put to death in the market-place at Hereford, as an act of vengeance, possibly for the deaths of York and Rutland at Wakefield. He had been brought to the place of execution by Sir Roger Vaughan, an action which marked the beginning of a long and bitter feud between Tudors and Vaughans." [12](WILLIAMS-REF, p.188)

During the next nine years with the Yorkist Earl of March Edward IV ruling over England, Jasper Tudor became both a fugitive in Wales and England and at times an exile in Scotland and France. The victory of the Yorkists at Mortimer's Cross in Herfordshire had dealt the Lancastrians an almost mortal blow. However, Margaret of Anjou, the wily and resourceful wife of Henry VI, moved on St. Albans and, on the 17th of February 1461, her forces defeated the Yorkists under the Earl of Warwick, freed her husband and set about restoring him to power.

As one of the most trusted lieutenants of the restored Lancastrian King Henry VI, Jasper Tudor turned his attention to the enormous challenge of returning control of south Wales to the Crown. His task would not be an easy one. As Griffiths tells it, "This region had been dominated by some of Edward IV's most trusted supporters - the Herberts of Raglan and Abergavenny, the Vaughans of Tretower and Bredwardine, and the Devereux family of Weobley and Bodenham." [13](GRIFFITHS-TUDOR, pp.71-72)

Queen Margaret, doubtlessly flushed with success in freeing and restoring her husband to power, sent her army to join the forces of Jasper Tudor against the Yorkists. Edward IV sent his army to meet them. On the fourth day of May in 1471, Jasper Tudor's army not yet in sight, the battle was joined south of Tewkesbury. In short order, the Lancastrian forces were routed, Margaret's son and King Henry's only heir, Prince Edward, was slain, and finally Margaret herself was captured, thus bringing to a bloody end the short reign of Henry VI.

Glanmor Williams has some interesting things to say about conditions under Henry VI. "Under the feeble Henry VI, the extreme susceptibility of the Crown to pressure from favourites led to the growth of faction which accentuated divisions among the nobility, and (as a result) increased their competitiveness. In the absence of strong government and any kind of impartial police force, men were obliged to look all the more to the ties of good lordship for their own security and well-being...Ordinary men had to attach themselves, formally or informally, to a powerful local

figure who could act as their immediate patron and protector... The process in Wales is illuminated for us by John Wynn (who) described how a freeholder of Crug, three miles from Caernarfon, attached himself to the family of Cesail Gyfarch, fifteen miles away, 'so desirous men were in the those days to have a patron that could defend them from wrong, though they sought him never so far off.' The Vaughans of Cesail Gyfarch were themselves attached closely to Jasper Tudor and his (Jasper's) Lancastrian following."[14] (WILLIAMS-REF, p.107) Caernarfon is in the far northwest corner of Wales, a short distance southwest of Bangor, a region where the Tudors were most powerful, perhaps explaining why the Vaughans of Cesail Gyfarch chose not to remain loyal to the Crown.

With the downfall of Henry VI, the Duke of York regained the throne as Edward IV, and Jasper Tudor was once again on the run, his forces having failed to arrive at Tewkesbury in time to aid Queen Margaret's army.

It is obvious that loyalties often changed from one side to the other during these harsh and bitter times. David Morgan, once loyal to Jasper Tudor although married to one of Sir Roger Vaughan's daughters, turned against him, apparently outraged over Jasper's treatment of Morgan's father-in-law at Chepstow. Others in both northern and southern Wales either remained loyal to Edward or else switched their allegiance to the Yorkist king, enabling Edward to retain power during his second reign for a full twelve years.

The years were marked with great uncertainty. With the passing of the Crown to Richard III, loyalties were further strained. Thomas Vaughan of Tretower, son of Sir Roger Vaughan II who was beheaded at Chepstow, led his kinsmen on forays opposing Richard's forces under Buckingham throughout Brecon. Sir Humphrey Stafford of Worcestershire destroyed bridges in south Wales where many Welshmen now seemed to be in open revolt against the Crown.

R. A. Griffiths relates another instance of uncertain loyalty involving the same Thomas Vaughan of Tretower: "Elizabeth Mores was a servant in the household of Sir Richard de la Bere at Kinnersley in Herefordshire. She later married her employer and presumably recalled her experiences in 1483 at Duke Edward's request. A copy of her story was discovered in 1575 among his archives at Thornbury Castle, Edward's favourite residence.

"According to Elizabeth, Edward's father and mother and their two sons arrived at Weobley from Brecon; here the duke spent a week assembling and talking to the local gentry. In his absence, Brecon Castle was seized and plundered by Thomas Vaughan and his brothers, even though they were the duke's retainers. The duke's two daughters and their gentlewomen were carried off to the Vaughan house at Tretower. News of this calamity caused the duke to retire

from Weobley, but he left his young son Edward in the charge of Sir Richard de la Bere, Sir William Knevet, one of the duke's leading councillors, and a nurse who took him for safety to de la Bere's house. The duke's young son, Henry, stayed with the duchess. As a result of Richard III's proclamation offering generous rewards for the capture of the duke and his family, Buckingham was betrayed and taken to Salisbury by Sir James Tyrell. After Buckingham's execution, the Vaughans searched high and low for Edward Stafford and his protectors; but Sir William Knevet and young Edward, his nurse Elizabeth Mores and one of de la Bere's Welsh servants went into hiding near Kinnersley, the Stafford heir dressed as a girl. Tyrell and the king made further efforts to find Edward and his nurse, who eventually reached the city of Hereford, where the boy was left in a widow's care. The duchess was conveyed from Weobley to London, and Sir William Knevet made his peace with the king." [15](GRIFFITHS-TUDOR, pp. 99-100)

Following these episodes, the Duke of Buckingham was executed in 1483 and his lordship of Brecon fell to Sir Thomas Vaughan who, as R. S. Griffiths reminds us, was "no lover of the Tudors." The manner in which Thomas and his sons dealt with the rise to power of Henry Tudor is not always clear to us in recorded accounts of the period. What is known is that, somehow they survived as landed gentry in southern Wales for another two centuries and more.

Excerpts from the Welsh guidebook to Tretower give us some idea of the politics that prevailed at this time in Welsh and English history midway through the reign of Henry VI: "Sir William and Vaughan, as local landowners and agents of great noblemen, were able to exploit their position and abuse their power as a result of declining royal and noble government in south Wales during this period of the War of the Roses. They were both prominent Yorkists, and Sir William played a major role in the defeat of Henry VI's Lancastrian forces at Mortimer's Cross in 1461. Edward IV was acclaimed king, and a few months later Sir William was raised to the peerage as Lord Herbert of Raglan, Chepstow and Gower. As a trusted friend and adviser to the new king, he was evidently being groomed to replace Jasper Tudor as the effective ruler of south Wales. Lord Herbert's rapid and continued advancement under Edward IV is itself reflected in his sumptuous building at Raglan Castle. His career continued to blossom until, in 1468, he was created Earl of Pembroke, a dignity he did not enjoy for long. He was executed following the defeat of the royal forces at the Battle of Edgecote in 1469." [16](CADW, p.5)

Griffith's book on the Tudors tells us, "In South-East Wales the most prominent Welshmen to take advantage of these circumstances were William Herbert of Raglan, one of the duke of York's tenants in his lordhip of Usk, and the

Vaughans of Tretower in the duke of Buckingham's lordship of Brecon." [17] (GRIFFITHS-TUDOR, p44)

Commenting on Wales in 1460, Griffiths tells us, "In February 1460 a powerful commission was set up to inquire into the granting of livery and the summoning of unlawful assemblies (the phrase normally used to describe gatherings of opponents of the regime in power) in the Principality of Wales, Flint, and Cheshire. Denbigh fell in March 1460 and Jasper (Tudor) made his way to south Wales... This Lancastrian triumph proved to be of short duration. In July 1460 (The Earl of) Warwick, who a month earlier had landed at Sandwich with the earls of March and Salisbury, advanced rapidly and defeated the King's forces at Northampton, taking Henry prisoner in the process. Queen Margaret fled in haste and humiliation to Wales; first to Harlech castle and later to Pembroke, whence she eventually sailed to Scotland. Warwick, flushed with victory, took immediate steps to place Yorkist adherents in positions of strategic importance in Wales. Among them figured prominently Sir William Herbert who, despite his earlier wariness, had come out boldly for the Yorkist earls when they landed. On 17 August he, Sir Walter Devereux, and Roger Vaughan were given wide powers to prevent all unlawful assemblies - Lancastrian ones this time, in contrast to the Yorkists of a few months previously - to ensure the safe keeping of castles and stamp out the embers of opposition...Alas for York! The only crown he ever won was a mocking paper one. His own death was to precede Henry's by eleven years or so and was to take place within a matter of weeks. On 30 December 1460 his armies were defeated at Wakefield, where he was killed and Salisbury executed." [18] (GRIFFITHS-TUDOR, p.157)

The fealty of both the Herberts and Vaughans had shifted from the Lancastrians to the Yorkists. We are told that the fortunes of Sir Roger Vaughan II, the original Vaughan of Tretower, rose apace with those of his half-brother benefactor, Sir William Lord Herbert, who procured for him a series of grants in Brecknock (Powys) and Glamorgan, eventually making of him "the richest commoner" in south Wales. [19] (CADW, p.5)

The crown would continue to favor these men throughout the first part of the reign of Edward IV from 1461 to 1469 when Herbert died. As we know, Roger Vaughan lost his life two years later, but Sir William and Roger's heirs continued to be favored by Edward from 1471 to 1483. Their fortunes, however, were destined to suffer a drastic reversal when the Tudors overthrew the Yorkists.

At one point, Jasper Tudor "succeeded in persuading Philip Mansel of Gower and Hopcyn ap Rhys of Llangyfelach to head a revolt. It was to counter these plans that John, Duke of Norfolk, was dispatched to Denbigh, while John Dwn and Roger Vaughan were deputed to deal with disaffection in the south...on 4 March, Dwn and Vaughan had shattered the

Lancastrain forces at the battle of Dryslwyn, and both were well rewarded for their victory."[20] (WILLIAMS-REF, p.200)

William Herbert raised a large army from southeast Wales and Pembroke in 1469. Included in their midst, according to Williams, were "a large number of gentry of the best blood in south Wales, with the prolific Herbert, Vaughan, Morgan, Havard, and Games clans prominent among them...From Raglan, Herbert and his troops made their way to Gloucester, much to the trepidation of its annalist, and thence to the Cotswolds to link up with the Earl of Devon. By Sunday 23 July 1469 they must have reached the neighborhood of Banbury, for on the following day there was a short but fierce skirmish. One of those killed in the course of it was Thomas ap Roger Vaughan of Hergest, whose marble monument set up by his grieving widow, Ellen Gethin, can still be seen at Kingston."[21] (WILLIAMS-REF, p.204)

In subsequent action at Banbury, another terrible blow was dealt the Yorkists when William Herbert lost his life. Following glowing tributes by the Welsh poets to Herbert and those who died at Banbury, the Earl of Warwick regained the offices he had lost in Wales, becoming chief justice and chamberlain of South Wales, and constable of Carmarthen and Cardigan. But Edward had other plans. He installed his brother, Richard of Gloucester, as chief justice of North Wales and chief steward and surveyor of the Principality of Wales.

As Glanmor Williams relates, "Edward also entrusted authority in Wales to other men upon whom he clearly thought he could depend, notably Lord Ferrers, Sir Roger Vaughan, Sir William Stanley and in western Wales, John Dwn."[22] (WILLLIAMS-REF,p.207)

Although the Tudors were at first unsuccessful in their bid for the crown, they later succeeded in overthrowing the Yorkists, assuming power under Henry VII in 1485. Meanwhile, however, the Yorkists were able to maintain the upper hand throughout the interrupted reigns of Edward IV and for the brief period when the peripatetic Richard III ruled (1483-1485).

Under Henry VII, an uneasy truce apparently existed for a time in parts of Wales, especially northern Wales where the Tudors had more constant support, but we are told that old wounds were not so easily healed in southern Wales. Rebellious forces rallied around the Herberts and Vaughans. As Griffiths puts it, "The Vaughans of Tretower, with a tradition of Yorkist loyalty and personal animosity towards Jasper Tudor behind them, even raised rebellion at Brecon in April 1486."[23] (GRIFFITHS-TUDOR, p.195)

Not all of the Vaughans opposed the Tudors, although we have no way of knowing if those Vaughans who supported Henry VII were related to Vaughans of Tretower. Glanmor Williams tells us of one such Vaughan in Bristol. In discussing

fifteenth century trade and transportation, Williams says, "Bristol had no rival in the south...It also proved an irrestible magnet for a growing colony of Welsh merchants and apprentices - Vaughans, Goughs, Lloyds, ap Ryses, ap Meryks, and the rest - who came there to settle. One of them, Henry Vaughan, in the latter half of the fifteenth century was the most prominent of all Bristol merchants and had the singular honor of being the mayor of the city when his fellow-countryman, Henry VII, visited it in 1486."[24] (WILLIAMS-REF, P.78)

Although the resources of Roger Vaughan II fell short of those of his half-brother, Sir William, he did have the means which enabled him to create one of the finest family manor houses in all of Wales. Knighted in 1464, Sir Roger Vaughan II, apparently resided at Tretower Court until 1471. During this time he had become "a veteran Yorkist retainer" who served the crown in ways deemed most suitable and appropriate. At the behest of King Edward IV, Sir Roger was sent forth to capture the Tudors who were then in flight. Success attended their efforts at the Battle of Tewkesbury in May of 1471 and the Tudors fled to take up refuge at Chepstow Castle. Glanmor Williams relates one version of the story in somewhat more detail than other contemporary writers:

"Jasper Tudor, fortunately for him perhaps, had not been present at the battle of Tewkesbury, and he now withdrew to the castle of Chepstow. Here he was confronted by Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, dispatched by Edward IV to seize him. Jasper, however, 'got his retaliation in first', took the initiative and quickly put Vaughan to death. The dead man had been a munificent patron to the bards, some of whom were not slow to condemn Jasper for what he had done and especially for behaving treacherously. Llywelyn Goch y Dant hoped that since he had shown no pity to Vaughan neither would he himself receive any when he died. Huw Cae Llwyd went further and maintained that Jasper had broken the oath he had given on the sacrament that no harm would come to Roger. Two sixteenth-century commentators, Hall and John David Rhys, on the other hand, sought to defend Jasper, Hall by maintaining that Vaughan had been sent by Edward IV to capture Jasper by a ruse but that he had got wind of it first while John David Rhys recorded an old tradition that Jasper had put Vaughan to death because it was he who had led his father, Owain Tudor to the scaffold." Williams offers an editorial comment of his own, concluding, "We need not expend too much sympathy on either of the two; in that lawless world it was indeed a case of the 'devil take the hindmost.'"[25] (WILLIAMS-REF, pp.208-209)

Most historians agree that the beheading of Sir Roger Vaughan at Chepstow was carried out to avenge the execution of Jasper's father, Owen Tudor, some ten years earlier, which Jasper Tudor believed to be the work of our Sir Roger

Vaughan II. The Coat of Arms on display at Tretower Court features the bust of a bare-shouldered blonde young man with what appears to be a snake entwined around his neck. This likeness is repeated three times, twice above and once below an inverted chevron. In some quarters Owen Tudor was referred to as "The Snake." Despite this seeming congruity, however, the connection between the event and the arms is not assured. It will be recalled that an earlier legend involving the same sort of arms was attributed to the twelfth-century ancestor Moreiddig Warwyn.

Below the Arms of the Descendants of Vaughan of Tretower are found these three latin words: VIRTUS VINCIT INVIDIAM which may be loosely translated, "Honesty conquers malice."

Some Aspects of Heraldry and Genealogy

Heraldry and the use of armorial bearings or family coats of arms have come into vogue within this century, causing virtually everyone to crave or lust after some degree of kinship with family or families that have or had legitimate claims to the use of such symbolic emblems. L. G. Pine, a former editor of **Burke's Peerage** and other such books, gives us some interesting insights into this esoteric business. We quote excerpts from his **HERALDRY AND GENEALOGY**, published by The English Universities Press Ltd., St. Paul's House, Warwick Lane, London E.C.4. All such references shall be identified with the notation (PINE):

"Heraldry is essentially mediaeval in its origin and is associated with all the images which we conjure up when we think of the Middle Ages. Knights in armour, castles, lovely ladies and princesses, tournaments, dragons, enchanters, giants, all the apparatus of old romance, yes it is with these things that Heraldry is linked." In response to his own question about the first use of coats of arms, Pine tells us that this probably occurred in Western Europe in the 12th century, a hundred years or so after the Norman invasion of the British Isles. Thus, Roger Picard's family were in possession of Tretower at a time when the design and use of formal heralidic symbols had not yet commenced. The arms of Moreiddig Warwyn, however, would have been among the first of record. In England, families designed their own arms and used them with great pride both in battle and as adornment in homes. When excessive pride in the use of such ornamentation became the cause of conflict, Henry V in 1418 issued a writ which he directed local sheriffs to enforce, to wit: "..no one, of whatsover rank, degree or condition he may be, shall assume such arms or coats of arms, unless he posesses or ought to possess the same in right of his ancestors, or by the gift of some person, having adequate power for that purpose...excepted (those) who bore arms with us at the battle of Agincourt..." [26] (PINE, p.13-64)

As we have learned, Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine, was slain during the Battle of Agincourt while in service to the king. It is not presently known if the coat of arms displayed at Tretower originated with Moreiddig Warwyn in the twelfth century or at the death of Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine at Agincourt, or upon the death of his son, Sir Roger Vaughan II. Although it would seem that one might safely assume that it was the latter since the effigies clearly reflect the circumstances surrounding the death of Sir Roger Vaughan II, the story concerning the earlier use of the same design in the arms of Warwyn must also be considered. If the arms of Warwyn were the source and inspiration for the design later adopted and carried forward by Vaughan of Tretower as their family emblem, then those arms are among the oldest in Wales.

Ultimately, to bring order to a chaotic situation, a College of Arms was established with the Duke of Norfolk appointed as its head in 1677. Soon after his appointment, the Duke revived the Herald's Visitations which had been established around 1530. These visitations were tours of inspection to determine the names of families and their uses of family arms, legitimate and otherwise. Notably excluded from the use of such armorial bearings at that time were most, if not all, lawyers and doctors. Although many arms had been granted to loyal defenders of the crown, the majority of English arms were borne by prescription or were self-designed and self-granted. "After 150 years of the Visitations, however," Pine tells us, "it would have been reasonable to say that claims to arms by (a) user could only be allowed if they went back before 1530." [27] (PINE, p.77)

It will be noted that the arms of the Vaughans of Tretower predate this by some fifty or sixty years or, if the use of the design originated with Moreiddig Warwyn, then that use goes back more than four hundred years prior to 1530. However, while there is no doubt that Vaughans of Tretower had a right to their family coat of arms, it must now be noted that the English College of Arms made no provision for Welsh heraldry despite the fact that Wales was *defacto* a part of England as early as 1284 and *dejure* from 1542. Despite the use of arms in Wales for periods of time perhaps earlier than that in England, there is no place in English heraldry given over to Wales. However, interest in genealogy and family history was stronger in Wales than in England and, when the Visitations were made to their country, the Welsh began to cooperate and to seek inclusion in these heraldic censuses. As Pine points out, however, the Welsh have never taken kindly to the idea that their arms must be recorded by the College of Arms to be valid. Pine also tells us that the English heralds were usually empowered to appoint a Welsh deputy to assist them in gathering information and he further tells us that "Lewis Dwnn was probably the most celebrated of these and the

pedigrees recorded by him in his Visitations are generally considered to be accurate."[28] (PINE, p.108)

We shall endeavor to research whatever remains of Dwnn's work, although we hold out little hope that anything of value will evolve from this. Although both Roger Vaughan I and Roger Vaughan II were knighted by the king, it is not known if they were subsequently treated as citizens of England, subject to the registration of their family's arms. Even Welshmen who were loyal supporters of the Crown often disdained any interest in many aspects of English society.

Interestingly, Henry VII and his supporters attempted to trace his Welsh lineage back to ancient Welsh kings, Cadwaladr in particular; indeed, the Arms of King Henry VII include the dragon of Cadwaladr and the greyhound of Elizabeth of York, an example of which may be seen in the fan vault of Holy Trinity Chapel immediately behind the high altar of St. David's Cathedral, an artifice said to have been placed there by Bishop Edward Vaughan who served St. David's from 1509 to 1522.[29] (GRIFFITHS-TUDOR, p. 189)

For centuries, the College of Arms regarded Welsh family history as something quite strange if not almost totally incomprehensible. Eventually, in the mid seventeenth century, Welsh deputies and officers were added to the College but, as Pine points out, extensive Welsh family records were given scant attention due to at least two factors, namely the reluctance of the Welsh to admit to the need to record their arms and family histories, and to the lack of Welsh-speaking scholars in the College. An official Royal Badge of Wales was decreed by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth in 1953, and this is used today to adorn all things officially Welsh. However, although some family coats of arms that have Welsh origins are officially displayed in England, many others are neither displayed nor recorded.

Another point of more than passing interest is made by Glanmor Williams concerning heraldry in Wales and England. It was a descendant of Vaughan of Tretower - Henry Vaughan, The Silurist - who, as Williams put it, reproached the gentry for their "insatiable pride." A stanza from one of Vaughan's now nearly forgotten poems reads:

O why so vainly do some boast
Their birth and blood, and a great host
Of ancestors, whose coats and crests
Are some ravenous birds or beasts?

Vaughans of Tretower From 1450

When Sir Roger Vaughan II came into possession of Tretower Court and Castle, the north range of Tretower Court was rebuilt and a west range was added. Roger's son, Thomas, was created Knight of the Bath in 1475. During his ownership of Tretower, the impressive gatehouse to Tretower Court was

added. We have no immediate record of other children born to Sir Roger Vaughan II, the first Vaughan of Tretower, but this should not be taken to mean that there were no other children. Ownership of Tretower passed from Sir Thomas, first to his eldest son, Roger, and then to the latter's younger brother, Henry. Again, we have no record of birth of other children by Sir Thomas which is not to say that there were no others.

As we have stated previously, scant family records of the day and the focus on primogenture since the mid-sixteenth century have combined throughout history to preclude full knowledge of the identify of all of the descendants in this and countless other families. Likewise, as in their father's case, we have no record of children born to either this Roger or Henry other than one Christopher Vaughan, who inherited Tretower and became High Sheriff of Brecknock in 1547. At this point in time, the reign of Edward VI, son of Jane Seymour and Henry VII, had just begun. With the Tudors then in power, it is not known how this owner of Tretower managed to maintain cordial relations with the crown but, apparently there were no major difficulties despite the Vaughans' historical opposition to the Tudors.

There seem to have been Vaughans throughout Wales during most of its recorded history and, again, it is not known if Vaughans of the north were related by blood to Vaughans of the south. Take for example, a family residing in Merioneth, which Williams refers to as one of the relatively remote and poor counties of the north-west. "In the same county (Merioneth) by 1525, the Vaughans of Corsygedol, as a result of their diligence in pursuing their opportunities in the previous century, had accumulated an estate claiming to incorporate one hundred tenements, 3,000 acres of arable, 1,000 acres of meadow, 1,000 acres of woodland, 1,000 acres of underwood, 70 acres of turbary and marsh, together with fisheries in Ardudwy and Talybont."[30] (WILLIAMS-REF, p. 84)

Glanmor Williams mentions a number of other Vaughans, including a Philip Vaughan of Hay, a veteran of the French wars, described as "'most noble squire of lances among all the rest' when he fought for the earl of March at the battle of Mortimer's Cross."[31] (WILLIAMS-REF, p. 172)

The Duke of Buckingham met his end at the battle of Shrewsbury. Margaret Beaufort, having encouraged Henry to once more attempt the conquest of Wales, succeeded in moving Henry to seek out the help of Duke Francis of Brittany and the Duke of Buckingham. But news of the conspiracy reached King Richard, enabling the Yorkists to prevail without much resistance in the first encounter in 1483. Faced with a flooded Severn River, the army recruited by the Duke of Buckingham deserted him. Besides, as Williams describes him, "Buckingham was a harsh and unsympathetic character, 'a sore and hard-dealing man', unpopular with his tenants who could

make no appeal to national sentiment in Wales. Around him he had a number of enemies, among them the Vaughan family and their associates. Besides their hatred of Buckingham, these opponents had other old scores to settle with Lancastrians too. Their feud with the Tudors still rankled unforgivingly as they recalled how Jasper Tudor had savagely executed Sir Roger Vaughan, head of the Tretower family, at Chepstow. Taking advantage of their enmity, Richard had encouraged them to rise against Buckingham and seize Brecon castle in his absence. The duke was soon captured at Shrewsbury and put to death...Henry Tudor's expedition from Brittany fared little better. He had hopefully set off on 10 October with fifteen ships, 5,000 men reputedly -- though that figure seems exaggerated - and a gift of 10,000 golden crowns from Duke Francis. The expedition ran into severe gales in the Channel...Thirteen of Henry's ships were scattered...Henry returned to Brittany...(Richard) was a vigorous and experienced soldier...He entrusted many strategically placed castles to the command of a reliable follower, Richard Williams; and also placed his old allies, the Herberts and Vaughans, in positions of vantage."[32] (WILLIAMS-REF, pp.214-215

With the death of Richard III and the ascendancy of Henry VII, Vaughans and Herberts and others who had been loyal to the Yorkist cause were faced with a dilemma, to say the least. Despite the marriage of Henry VII to Elizabeth of York, old wounds were not easily healed. As Williams reminds us, "Many dissidents were by no means reconciled to the idea that victory in one battle and marriage to Edward IV's heiress had given Henry an incontrovertible title to the throne.

"As early as April 1486, even in Wales, where he might have been supposed to have been especially popular, there was disaffection on the part of a group of dissatisfied Yorkists drawn from among the Vaughans and Herberts. There had long been bad blood between these families and the Tudors, and the poison still curdled in their veins. Led by Sir Thomas Vaughan of Tretower, the malcontents raised rebellion against the King at Brecon, Hay, and Tretower, all old Yorkist strongholds. They conspired to kill Henry and seized Brecon castle. Fortunately for the Tudor, he could call upon Sir Rhys ap Thomas to put down the rebellion with a firm hand."[33] (WILLIAMS-REF, p.228)

As nearly as can be determined from the available literature, Vaughans of Tretower were not only steadfast supporters of the Crown, especially during the Yorkist regime, but also of the Church of England. Our chapter on Thomas Vaughan deals with some aspects of his religious activity during his lifetime, and with the rise of Puritanism and Vaughans' resistance to that movement in the mid 1600s. In the 1630s a more radical sort of Puritanism threatened to divide Wales into two warring religious camps.

Williams refers to a William Wroth of Monmouthshire, rector of Llanfaches in 1617, as "the apostle of all the early Welsh Puritans." In America the children of a later Thomas Vaughan - my great-great-grandfather and the eldest son of William and Fereby - were for the most part staunch Southern Baptists.

Sexual dalliance has apparently been with us always, even among some of the clerics. In northern Wales, when a measure of success had been achieved in replacing Catholicism with the Anglican faith, a number of the clergy petitioned Thomas Cromwell for permission to keep their women. Refusal to submit to the commands of the king, resulted in the installation of Dr. Arthur Bulkeley as Bishop of Bangor, and the tightening of standards at St. Asaph diocese in 1535 as well. "As in Bangor," writes Williams, "John Vaughan and Adam Becansaw had taken prompt steps to put an end to the concubinage practised by priests and laymen alike, though their efforts had been undermined by the shameless conduct of their fellow-visitor, Ellis Price..."[34] (WILLIAMS-REF, p.282)

During the mid to late 1500s in Wales, with religious friction high between Catholics and those who were loyal to the Church of England, little is known about conditions in southern Wales, particularly as to the position taken by Vaughans of Tretower. In northern Wales, however, another Vaughan has been cited as having taken a strong stand against recusants who would restore Catholicism as the dominant religious order. Williams writes, "...that stern disciplinarian, John Whitgift, complained with some asperity of clandestine Catholic activity. His representation led to a follow-up at Bangor and Llandaff. At Bangor, Bishop Robinson and Ellis Price were thwarted by a tip-off given to the offenders. But when Thomas Owen returned to Plas Du in the summer of 1578 he was brought before Star Chamber by an energetic justice, Robert Vaughan. The subsequent hearing blew the lid off widespread recusant activities in Llyn where missionary priests had been enthusiastically received and mass said in secret." Because of their activities, Robinson and Vaughan became known as "recusant-hunters."[35] (WILLIAMS-REF, pp.318-319)

Vaughans not only played important roles in southern Wales before representative government made its appearance, but afterwards as well. Beginning around the late sixteenth century, elections of local officials became more hotly contested. "The member of Parliament for the shire was normally the head or the favourite son of the pre-eminent family, or the accepted representative of the ruling faction...In Breconshire, between 1542 and 1610, two families, Games of Newton and Vaughan of Porthaml, virtually monopolized the seat; in Carmarthenshire the Vaughans of Golden Grove sat seventeen times between 1563 and 1640; and

the Pryses of Gogerddan thirteen times in Cardiganshire between 1553 and 1621." [36](WILLIAMS-REF), p.351)

Throughout Glanmor Williams' book references are found to Vaughans, some connected with Tretower, others of origins unknown. John Vaughan of Golden Grove is said to have "acquired many Crown leases, including a number of former Dynevor lands. Vaughans of Golden Grove, an offshoot of Vaughans of Bredwardine and Tretower (see appendix), also produced a writer of note, William, author of The Golden Grove. Published in 1600, he described social and economic conditions in Wales during his time. For two years he tried unsuccessfully to found a Welsh colony in Newfoundland. In 1626 he wrote The Golden Fleece, claiming that Jason's Golden Fleece of Colochos would be found in Newfoundland "where we should perform miracles and return yearly into Great Britain a surer gain.." [37](WILLIAMS-REF,p.441)

Another John Vaughan of Cardinganshire is referred to as a successful lawyer. Richard Vaughan is described as an "outstanding churchman," and an interesting story is told of yet another Richard Vaughan who went head to head in court battle against Sir John Perrot, representative of the Crown from 1570 to 1573 in Munster. According to many of his contemporaries, Perrot followed his service to the Crown with several years of trading with sea pirates:

"Not until 1578 did most of the details come to light when a neighboring Carmarthanshire gentleman, Richard Vaughan, acting deputy to Sir William Morgan, vice-admiral for the three south-western counties, intervened in an attempt to queer Perrot's pitch. It was not that Vaughan was a pillar of rectitude in these matters; he had himself been the recipient of bribes and presents from pirates. Rather was it the old story of local rivalry and a determination on Vaughan's part to thrust himself into a seat of regional authority at Perrot's expense. He presented a long, detailed, and damaging bill of complaints against Perrot for his complicity with piracy, which was referred to Drs Dale and Lewis of the Admiralty. Vaughan was no match for Perrot, however, and the latter and his witnesses were easily able to rebut Vaughan's evidence against them.

"Nor did an independent inquiry come up with any further evidence against Perrot; indeed, in so far as it mentioned him, it tended to refer to him as a suppressor of pirates. Certainly it did not sustain Vaughan's depiction of him as a kind of sixteenth-century super 'fence' and receiver." [38](WILLIAMS-REF, p.376)

Throughout most of the century from 1550 to 1650, the economic life of Wales continued to be a stagnant agrarian struggle with subsistence farming and bartering the means of earning a livelihood for most families. William Vaughan of Llangyndeyrn wrote in a critical vein of the poor corn crops during the early Stuart era. Similarities are seen in Ireland and even in parts of England during the same period,

underlining the need to seek out and hold onto property and political power if only to insure that one's family would have enough to eat.

Under the reign of King James I, Vaughans continued to curry and receive royal favor. "The King was keenly aware of Welsh loyalty," writes Williams. "True, he replaced the Welsh dragon with the Scottish unicorn in his coat of arms, but in other ways he gave Wales and Welshmen an honoured place in his government. He was quick to confer favours on the heirs to the Essex faction - Gelly Meyrick's son, Rowland, and his daughter Margaret and her husband, John Vaughan of Golden Grove, and Robert Vaughan of Llwydiarth, whom he knighted and rewarded with land." He also referred to William Herbert of Glamorgan, a Vaughan kinsman, as 'our second Brutus.' [39] (WILLIAMS-REF, p.473)

The reigns of Charles I (1625-1649) and Charles II (1649-1685) saw a continuation of favorable treatment for many Vaughans. In this regard, our eighth chapter which deals with the life of Thomas Vaughan, twin brother of Henry Vaughan The Silurist, will be of special interest to the reader.

Among those Vaughans who were then socially prominent was one Robert Vaughan who was said to have a rare and valuable collection of manuscripts. "The keenest connoisseurs among the gentry built up splendid libraries of manuscripts, pre-eminent among them the superb collection assembled at Hengwrt near Dolgellau by Robert Vaughan (d. 1666), which included most of the important early manuscripts as well as a number of significant transcripts." [40] (WILLIAMS-REF, p.446)

Another Vaughan who apparently achieved considerable prominence during the reign of Charles I was Captain Richard Vaughan whose remains lie buried in a crypt in Saint George's Chapel at Windsor, a mere twenty feet or so from the ground-level vault of King George VI. I visited the site of his burial on a trip to Wales in May of 1989 at which time I copied down the inscription on the wall of the crypt, along with a description of his coat of arms.

The caption immediately above the arms reads, "Arms of the family of Captain Richard Vaughan". The family arms are divided into the traditional four quarters. Beginning at the upper left is a lion standing and facing left with forked tail to the right. At the upper right is a griffin, also standing and facing to the left. In the lower right quarter is a rendering of the white rose of York. And, at the lower left is the head of a bearded man with a band around his forehead. The inscription below the arms reads, "Near this place lyeth the body of Captain Richard Vaughan of PANTGLAS in the County of Carnarvon, who behaved himselfe with great courage in the Service of King Charles THE FIRST (OF EVER BLESSED MEMORY) IN THE CIVIL WARRS: AND THEREIN LOST HIS SIGHT BY A SHOTT: IN RECOMPENSE WHEREOF HE WAS IN July 1663,

MADE ONE OF THE POOR KNIGHTS OF THIS PLACE, AND DYED THE 5TH DAY OF JUNE ANNO DOM. 1700, IN THE 80TH YEARE OF HIS AGE."

What do we make of this Poor Knight, Sir Richard Vaughan, insofar as our Vaughans are concerned? First of all, he was born in the year 1620 and would, therefore, have been a contemporary of the twin sons of Tretower's Thomas Vaughan, Henry Vaughan, the Silurist, and Thomas Vaughan Jr., who it was said also was looked upon with favor by the same King Charles I. Charles, the elder brother of Thomas Sr., inherited Tretower. Thus, Thomas Vaughan Sr. left Tretower as an adult and he and his wife, Denise Morgan, resided in her family's home at Newton where they raised their family. Although we find no mention of Richard in any of the literature written and published by either Henry or Thomas Vaughan Jr., there is little doubt that the Richard in question was also from the same family tree. Figure 8 shows the paternal ancestors of Sir Charles Vaughan. We are inclined to believe that the Richard is the Sir Richard Vaughan who married Anne, daughter of John Butler of Dunraven and Penbrey. This branch of the Vaughans held common ancestry with Vaughans of Tretower as direct lineal descendants of Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine, father of Sir Roger Vaughan, the first Vaughan of Tretower.

Richard The Poor Knight, whose mortal remains lie buried in Saint George's Chapel, spent most of his adult life at Pantglas in the County of Carnarvon. The presence of the white rose of York on his family coat of arms is in keeping with the tradition of service to the Yorkist cause during the turbulent political times of this period. Furthermore, the head in the lower left quarter bears more than a passing resemblance to those that adorn the arms of Vaughan of Tretower.

Saint George's Chapel at Windsor is the repository of the last remains of a number of English royalty including Henry VIII, as well as those who were favored by the monarchs and numerous members of the clergy. Another Vaughan lies buried in a floor cypt at one end of Saint George's. The inscription on the dark stone marker is scarcely readable and this is our best effort to interpret it: "Here Lyeth the Body of M MAURICE VAUGHAN, CANON OF THIS ROYAL CHAPPEL. HE WAS A YOUNGER BROTHER OF EDW. VAUGHAN OF H.....? County of W (or M...?). He died 20th day of April Anno Dom. 1722 Fr.Gl."

Were Maurice and Edward Vaughan one of our Vaughans of Tretower? Theophilus Jenkins provides no clues. Indeed, his extensive genealogical charts show only one Edward (Figure 11) and no Maurice Vaughan.

Reference to Figure 2 shows fifteen generations of Welsh Tretower Vaughans, beginning with Sir Roger Vaughan I and Gladys Gam Vaughan as the first generation. Thusfar, we have discussed in a superficial way the first five owners of Tretower, down to and including Christopher Vaughan, High

Sheriff in 1547, in the fifth generation. Before we conclude this book, we hope to set forth in a later chapter whatever additional information we may learn about other children born into this family. Particular attention will be given to generations nine through thirteen as it is this author's belief that it is in one of these generations that the original emigre' ancestor will be found.

Before proceeding beyond Christopher Vaughan who was also said to have been a Warden of the Marches around 1560, perhaps we should explore further the matter of the more ancient ancestors of Vaughan of Tretower. One modern ancestor, Clinton Vaughan, prepared some thesis material in 1940 in which he developed a **Pedigree of Vaughan of Tretower**. I obtained a copy of the pertinent aspects of this material from The National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, Dyfed.

According to Clinton Vaughan, the line of Vaughan of Tretower goes back to Cadwaladr, last King of the Brittains. He was the son of Cadwallon of the House of Cunedda, Brythonic Rulers of the greater part of present-day Wales. The official Welsh symbol, The Red Dragon of Wales, is associated with Cadwaladr who died of the plague in 664 A.D. Although intervening generations are unclear, Driffin, Prince of Brecon descended from Cadwaladr. Driffin had descendants including one son named Drymbenog who married Gwinllian, daughter of Iestyn ap Gwrgant. Drymbenog became Lord of Cantreff Seligg and, according to Clinton Vaughan's sources, "was said to have resided in Tretower Castle before the Norman Conquest." He had marriageable children around 1090-1100 A.D. Clinton Vaughan's references include the works of Vincent, Dwnn, Yorke, Theophilus Jones, Grosert, and Lyte, among others. [41] (CLINTON VAUGHAN)

Drymbenpg had one son named Mareiddig Warwyn who married Elinor, daughter of Lord Rhys, Prince of South Wales. It was Warwyn, you will recall, who was said to have been the probable originator of the arms depicting the three bare-shouldered young men. Moreiddig and Elinor had a son, Llewelyn, who married Joan, daughter of Cymbrgllyn, Lord of Ystradyw. They had at least six sons, including Sitsyllt (Cecil), Gwgan, Gwrgenen, Cynbarwy, Howel Cwrack, and Newric. Sitsyllt married Lleici (Lydia), a daughter of Griffith ap Madoc ap Cadroa. They had at least three sons - Howel, Cissil, and Madoc Gam. Howel married Gwladus, daughter of Morgan Vychan, Lord of Aeron. This couple had a son Einon (Jewan) who married Jannet, daughter of Rhys Greig of Cwmdu. Their son Rhosser Faun married Joice, daughter of Sir William Walkieff. This couple had a son, Rhosser Vychan who married a daughter of Sir Ralph Baskerville. They had a son Gwallter Sais who married Florence, daughter of Sir Walter Bredwardine (or de Bredwardine).

Gwallter Sais and Florence had a son Rhosser hen of Bredwardine who married a daughter of Sir Walter Devereux,

Lord Ferrers of Chartley and a descendant of Walter D'Evereux, Earl of Rosmar, Normandy "temp. Will.Conq."

Rhosser hen of Bredwardine and his Devereux wife had at least two and possibly other children, including a daughter who married Thomas Griffith, and a son who became Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine. Sir Roger married Gwladus, daughter of Sir David Gam. From this point forward, the lineage according to Clinton Vaughan closely parallels that previously recited and that which follows. With regard to the arms, Clinton Vaughan attributes their origin to Moreiddig Warwyn. He also states, "An authentic record of the Arms can be seen in the 'RED BOOK OF HERGEST,' now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, at the head of a poem by the fifteenth century Welsh Bard, Lewys Glyn Cothi, addressed to SIR ROGER VAUGHAN and SIR THOMAS VAUGHAN in A.D. 1409. The Crest and Motto were adopted at a later date." The Motto referred to is the Latin VIRTUS VINCIT INVIDIUM.[42] (CLINTON VAUGHAN)

From Christopher Vaughan ownership of Tretower continued on uninterrupted through the ensuing years as work went forward to maintain the court and manor house as a fortified home, the castle largely having fallen into a state of ruin. The property was then passed to the next generation through a William Vaughan followed by still yet another William Vaughan who served as High Sheriff in the county in 1591. Once more we have two generations of Tretower Vaughans in which only the eldest sons are of record. Throughout this search, the question naturally arises, "Who were the other children in each generation, what happened to them, where did they go?"

The succession of William Vaughan to the ownership of Tretower Court and Castle occurred during the reign of Elizabeth I. At that time, James I ruled as King of Scots (1567-1625). In 1603, James I, father of Charles I and Elizabeth Stuart, succeeded Elizabeth I and ruled over England until 1625. William Vaughan, High Sheriff of Brecon, married Frances, the widow of Roger Vaughan of Trephilip and reputedly an illegitimate daughter of Thomas Somerset who was the third son of the second Earl of Worcester, a member of the family of Somersets of Raglan, "the most powerful house in south Wales" in the 1600s.. According to some historians, including J. A. Bradney who wrote a History of Monmouthshire, Frances was the natural daughter of Thomas Somerset who was held prisoner in the Tower of London for more than twenty years "for his adherence to the old faith."[43] (HUTCHINSON, pp.6-7).

According to some historians, William Vaughan's father, also named William, had two sons, Morgan and Richard, and two daughters, Anne who married a William Havard, and an unnamed daughter who married John Walkieff. Son William, husband of Frances Somerset Vaughan, died 12 June 1617, according to Hutchinson, although some sources give 1613 as

the year of his death. He left at least three children, Charles, who inherited Tretower, Thomas, the father of twins Henry and Thomas Vaughan, and Margaret who married John Walbeoffe. It is largely because of Henry Vaughan's reputation as a mystic and poet that we have access to some of our historical information on the Vaughans of Tretower. Also it will be noted that Henry's twin brother Thomas became well known as a chemist. He gained considerable notoriety making him an interesting if not important subject for further study. For these reasons, we have included in this book separate chapters on both Henry and Thomas. Clinton Vaughan's sources also name two other sons, Edward and Alexander who died in 1623, and another daughter, Elizabeth who married an Arnold.

Charles Vaughan, eldest son of William and Frances, in 1604 married Eleanor Norton, granddaughter of Dr. William Aubrey, eminent in his own right and the great-grandfather of one of Oxford's esteemed professors. When Eleanor died in 1636, Charles married Ursula Coningsby, daughter of Sir William Coningsby of Hampton Court in County Hereford. Once more the principle of primogeniture was invoked upon the death of William Vaughan (c 1613-1617). With the passing of ownership of Tretower to Charles Vaughan, eldest son and primary heir of William Vaughan and Frances Somerset Vaughan, we are at that point in English history when King James I passed the crown on to his son, Charles I. Our Charles Vaughan served his county of Brecon as High Sheriff in 1621 and again in 1625, the year King Charles I ascended the throne of England. An interesting anecdote involving King Charles and Thomas Vaughan and his friends is found in the chapter dealing with Thomas.

When Charles Williams died without issue, his wife inherited their manor house at Scethrog. She then married Hugh Powell who served as Rector at Llansantffraed from 1668 to 1717. They had a daughter, Margaret Powell who married Charles Vaughan of Tretower. Before his death in 1636, Charles Vaughan passed over his son William who had married Margaret Gunter, and any other children he may have sired, and he bequeathed Tretower to their son and his grandson, Edward, who was an infant at the time of the bequest and who died in 1656 without issue. The property then passed to Edward's sister Margaret who married Thomas Morgan of Maesgwartha or Maes Gwarthey, Llanelly. Their son, Vaughan Morgan, continued to live at Tretower as did his son Charles who reclaimed his mother's maiden name to become known as Charles Vaughan. According to Clinton Vaughan's sources, Charles Vaughan and Elinor Norton Vaughan had at least three other sons in addition to William, and one daughter. He names the sons John, Charles, and Henry, and the daughter, Frances, who married Morgan Jones of Wenallt.[44] (CLINTON VAUGHAN)

After the death of this Charles in 1704, ownership passed on to a son also named Charles who married Margaret Powell, heiress to the estate of Hugh Powell of Skethrog, rector of Llansantffraed from 1668 to 1717. Margaret's mother was also a daughter of Frances Vaughan Morgan and John Morgan, and a granddaughter of Charles Vaughan and Eleanor Norton Vaughan, thus connecting her twice to the Vaughans of Tretower.

Upon acquiring the Skethrog property, Charles Vaughan and Margaret Powell Vaughan changed their place of residence from Tretower to Skethrog. Their son, Charles, the third so-named, also used Skethrog as his home. Upon his death in 1777, his son, Charles Vaughan IV, came into possession of the property but six years later in 1783, Tretower was sold as a farmplace to the Parry family, thus ending fifteen generations of ownership by the Vaughan family.

The tenure of Vaughan of Tretower had begun under the reign of Henry VI in 1450. It ended 333 years later in 1783 when George III ruled Great Britain. During that span of more than three centuries, Vaughans of Tretower had served under nineteen English kings from the Lancastrians to the Yorkists, followed by the Tudors, the Stuarts, the House of Orange, and the Hanoverians. Tretower was bought by the Brecknock Society with the aid of the Pilgrim Trust. In 1930 it was transferred to the Commissioners of Works for preservation and repair, and then to the care of CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments.

Again it should be noted that in all of the foregoing discourse involving fifteen generations of Vaughans of Tretower, we have in most instances been able to name only one or at most two members of each generation, and then in but the briefest of detail. It should be obvious to anyone who would research this family and their comings and goings in Wales, in other parts of Great Britain, or in the United States, that there are many other members of most of these fifteen generations who moved on to seek their fortunes elsewhere, independent of their immediate family where primogeniture cut off all save the eldest sons in most instances from an inheritance. It should be recorded here that this principle has prevailed in Wales only since 1542 when an English king with Welsh blood, Henry VIII, merged Wales administratively with England. Until then the pratice of gavelkind prevailed whereby property of the deceased was divided equally among all sons. Until 1542, therefore, we may safely assume that this sharing of property kept most if not all of the sons in property-owning families close to home. Afterwards, with only the eldest inheriting property, we may also assume with more than a degree of certainty that all save the eldest males ventured forth to seek fortunes on their own. Thus, in the case of Vaughans of Tretower, there is the very strong likelihood that most of the male members of that family from 1542 forward went out into Wales and England and to America to establish themselves - all, that

is, save the eldest male of each generation. With so many male Vaughans of Tretower seeking new territory after 1542, it appears probable that many of the Vaughans in Virginia during the late 1600s and early 1700s - in addition to our William - were descendants of Tretower Vaughans or a branch of that family in England and Wales.

Although it is this author's hope that additional information will come to light before this book is published, it is also possible that this will not occur, in which case we shall be forced to go to press with essentially what is presently known about William's connection with the Vaughans of Tretower. In this case, perhaps some other researcher's efforts will be more fruitful. At least this recitation may help to point the way for additional research. The facts and circumstances we have recited here with regard to each of these generations of Tretower Vaughans should provide some clues that may prove helpful in pursuing further the matter of which of these Tretower Vaughans emigrated to America to sire branches in that new country. As the reader must have surmised, this writer is convinced within a tenth of a shadow of doubt that his William Vaughan, who married Fereby Benton Vaughan, is a son of one of the Tretower Vaughans or an ancillary branch in southern Wales and, furthermore, William was born either in Wales or to a Tretower Vaughan who emigrated to America prior to 1750.

As we proceed to look into the possible ties of William Vaughan to one of the Vaughans of Tretower, we should keep in mind some important facts: (1) William Vaughan was born around 1750, either in America or in Wales. He was most likely of pure Welsh blood, otherwise Benjamin Vaughan would have had something to say about this matter when he spoke of his grandmother's Indian heritage. (2) Tretower Court & Castle, although in a state of decay, were still in the possession of William Vaughan's Vaughans when he was born, and the homeplace was not sold to the Parry family until 1783 when William was in America and married to Fereby Benton. Their first child, Thomas Vaughan, was born in North Carolina around 1773 and was ten years of age when the place in Wales was sold. (3) William would have had first-hand knowledge of "our place in Wales" regardless of whether he was born there or in America. (4) The stories related to this author by his grandfather, Anthony Wayne Vaughan, were handed down from his father, James, who in turn heard them from his father, Thomas, who was old enough to remember and have some knowledge of the stories told him concerning the property transaction and other family matters in Wales. (5) Similarly, both Daniel and Samuel, younger brothers to Thomas, would have been privy to the same stories, those later handed down to Vaughan cousins in Northwest Arkansas by way of both the Vaughans and the Fitches, and perhaps by the Harps and Stones.

Chapter Six

Vaughans of Virginia

Some of the information in this chapter came to me as a result of my correspondence with the late General Harry H. Vaughan, former military aide to President Harry S. Truman. Benedict K. Zobrist, Director of the Harry S. Truman Library at Independence, Missouri, by letter dated September 4, 1970 directed me to the general who was retired and then living at 2100 Forest Hill Road in Alexandria, Virginia. Following my letter of introduction to him, General Vaughan responded less than a week later. His remarks proved prophetic with regard to difficulties I would encounter in researching my Vaughans.

"You are surely taking on quite a project," he wrote, "since, from what I have been able to learn, there is definitely no scarcity of Vaughans in the U.S. I have had many letters of inquiry from Vaughans in various areas of the country, but so far have not encountered anyone who has the same ancestry as mine.

"My wife is the genealogist in the family," he continued, "and the enclosed data is from records she has compiled. The first ancestor for whom we have had records is Shadrach Vaughan (1733-1806). According to a letter from one of Shadrach's grandsons to my father's oldest brother in 1857 (which has rather recently come to light) Shadrach was the son of John Vaughan of Wales who was the emigrant ancestor. There is some evidence that he settled first on the Eastern Shore of Maryland before coming to Virginia."

General and Mrs. Vaughan very kindly enclosed some notes made by Mrs. Vaughan on some other Vaughan lines, and expressed a desire to be apprised of any information I might come upon concerning the General's ancestor, Shadrach. Almost three years passed before I could add anything to their research. In July of 1973 I wrote to tell them that our kinsman Thomas C. Vaughan of 728 Tenth Avenue, Huntington, West Virginia, had visited the Library of Archives in Richmond and had come across some information concerning the marriage of Shadrach Vaughan to Mary Meriwether on 19 June 1770. This apparently was recorded adjacent to an entry for the marriage of Benjamin Vaughan (b 1763) and Margaret (Ladd) Vaughan (b 1776), with no date for this latter union.

In reviewing my notes on Shadrach, I found that the General and his wife already had this information. However, C. Mitchel Hall's **JENNY WILEY COUNTRY, Volume I** contained the following entry on page 546, a section devoted to land deeds and grants: "Resident of Goochland, Vaughan, Shadrach; Book D, page 417, Date of Survey 11-5-1799; 2,500 acres; Watercourse: Sandy River."

The foregoing entry, as I pointed out in my letter of August 10, 1975 to the General and Mrs. Vaughan, was referenced, "Court of Appeals, Deeds-Grantees, Old Kentucky Entries and Deeds, Filson Club, Publication No. 34, Jillson, W. R., 1926, The Standard Printing Company." (Presumably in Louisville, Kentucky)

Also listed in Hall's first volume of his **JENNY WILEY COUNTRY** are Ayres, Isabel, Jacob, John T., and Patrick Vaughan, with land holdings of varying acreage along the same river and tributaries, including Johns Creek in present-day Johnson and Floyd Counties in Kentucky.[1] (WILEY, Vol.1,p.546)

Less than two weeks after communicating the preceding, I wrote to the General and his wife once more to tell him that our friend, Robert Winston Meriwether of Conway, Arkansas had told me of his "Vaughan connection." Bob said that the Meriwethers had a family member in Columbia, Missouri who had published a rather complete and definitive Meriwether genealogy which showed that his ancestor James Meriwether (1729-1792) was a brother of General Harry Vaughan's Nicholas Meriwether (1719-1758) who had married Frances Morton, parents of Mary Meriwether who married the General's ancestor, Shadrach Vaughan. These records also showed that the parents of Nicholas and James were David Meriwether (1690-1744) and Anne Holmes Meriwether. Unfortunately, I never learned if any of this was useful or productive in Mrs. Harry Vaughan's genealogical research as I later was told that both the General and Mrs. Vaughan had fallen into a state of declining health.

As I have indicated elsewhere in this book, the Northwestern Arkansas branch of the descendants of William and Fereby Vaughan had been told some of the same stories and legends that our Kentucky branch had heard handed down from our common ancestors in pre-Revolutionary days in western Virginia. In each instance, it is a virtual certainty that these stories had come down the centuries intact, with neither of the two family branches having been influenced by the other as there had been no modern-day contact until around 1970. Those stories that had the same general themes are sufficient in number and similarity to cause me to believe that they were based on fact, particularly those dealing with "our place in Wales, our work for the Crown," and so on. It is not these that I wish to address at this particular time.

Among those stories handed down to Joe and Jack Vaughan of northwest Arkansas were several that were not among those told me by my grandfather. Several of them, like the tales told to and by Cora Call, deserve our attention. While I do not wish to give undue credence to these stories without further substantiation, nor to embellish them in the

slightest, there are reasons why they should be set down as should become more clear as we proceed. To dismiss them out of hand would, it seems to me, be unwise.

Jack Duane Vaughan talked with me on more than one occasion about our common ancestors. He and Joe are Vaughan descendants from both the Catlett Fitch-Vaughan and Thomas Vaughan-Margaret Pectol line. One story that Jack had been told was that our William was a son or grandson of a John Vaughan who was banished from Wales by the then-reigning Tudors for siding with the Yorkists. John was said to have written and published naughty ballads about the in-power Tudors. Jack's story has it that John Vaughan was aided in his escape from Wales by a friendly Yorkist who arranged for him to either head up or work for a Colonial trading and land development and settlement company similar to the Transylvania Company. I communicated this hypothesis in my letter of August 10, 1975 to General Vaughan, making a mental note to do further research on this John Vaughan as a possible father or grandfather of our William Vaughan. During the time that we were engaged in this correspondence, Mrs. Harry Vaughan provided a copy of a genealogical chart on the individual that she regarded as the General's most likely Vaughan emigre ancestor. His name: John Vaughan who married Ellen (surname unknown). John Vaughan was said to have emigrated to this country in 1662, according to the "Va. Mag. Hist, v.5:342." The Westmoreland County Will Book #6 is said to have a record of a Will prepared by the same John Vaughan under the date 27 April 1664. [2] (GENERAL VAUGHAN CORRESPONDENCE)

Who was this John Vaughan? Where did he come from? Where did he land and settle in this country? Is the Will intact and a matter of record and can it be read and is there other information that can be obtained regarding this John Vaughan and his bride, Ellen, and their children? I just don't know the answers to these questions at this time but perhaps my writing this down will lead to some answers. Obviously, I should (and shall) follow up on the above references. Meanwhile, back to the information supplied by Mrs. Harry Vaughan. What follows in Figure 7 is the pedigree chart on John Vaughan in the form it was sent to me by Mrs. Harry H. Vaughan.

The reader should keep firmly in mind the nature of this undertaking. It is an on-going search for the Welsh emigre' ancestor of our line of Vaughans. To date nothing should be construed as pointing to a definite connection with this John Vaughan or any of the Meritwether-related Vaughans, although the author holds open a strong liklihood of such a relationship.

VAUGHAN New Kent County, Va.
(Possible line for Shadrach Vaughan 1733-1806)

Source of data

John Vaughan = Ellen
(a) Emigre 1662 — (a) Va. Mag Hist. v.5 : 342
(b) Will 27 Apr 1664 — (b) Westmoreland Co.

William Vaughan d 1687 (c) = Elizabeth — (c) Lower Norfolk Wills WMQ 25:37 19

Sarah Vaughan | Wm. | John Vaughan d.1724 = Sara Poindexter * m 3-11-1686 | * New Kent Mar. Reg. St. Peters Par

William Vaughan 1612-1719 N. Kent | John Vaughan b.11/25/1695 | Wm. Vaughan b.11/2/1701

(d) William Vaughan = Elizabeth Shields — (d) Hinshaw-Quaker Encycl V.6 St. Peter's Par.

William Shields Vaughan = Hannah Grove
b.1/30/1730 d.1791
12 children, of whom

Shadrach Vaughan (e) (1733-1806) — (e) Birth recorded Henrico Meeting Hinshaw -Q.Encycl Vol 6
m.1770 Mary Meriwether
Member Henrico Quaker Meeting
" Cedar Creek Meeting, Bedford Co 1793
" White Oak Meeting 1795, 1798

VAUGHAN BIRTHS RECORD
St. Peter's Par. Register

James Vaughan b 2/5/1722; Hannah Vaughan b 1725; Wm. Shields Vaughan b 1/30/1730; Mary Vaughan b 5/4/1754; Elizabeth Vaughan b 3/27/1759; William Vaughan b 4/28/1738; Matthew Vaughan b 9/13/1739, Will 1798 Goochland Co. W.B. 17:265, Mar. Mary, dau John Martin (source: Wm & Mary Quar. Ser 2 V.10:319

At this point, as I transcribed material into this chapter, I interrupted my work to ask Lewis Vaughan if he had any information on General Vaughan's kinsmen, and to tell him of my on-going efforts to research Vaughans of Tretower, Wales. I was also very much interested in his comments and suggestions concerning further avenues I might explore regarding a possible connection between Shadrach Vaughan and our William.

In my letter of October 5, 1989, I wrote, "I am sending you a few pages from some material I currently have in my word processor, hoping you will look it over and give me the benefit of your opinion, ideas, et cetera. Please bear in mind that this is in a very tentative form...I am banking mostly at this point on the possibility that someone will turn up something that will give us a clue as to which Vaughan of Tretower, Wales sired our William or his father; and, of course, there is still the possibility which you held out that William was the original emigre. As you know perhaps better than I, with the final outcome still in doubt as to who the original emigre was, it is difficult to write from this dubious vantage point or perspective. I have just about decided to put the whole thing down as something of an ancestral mystery, inviting the reader to take what I write as a series of clues which may (or may not) one day lead to a final solution to that mystery."

Lewis replied October 16th, stating in part, "Shadrack Vaughan was listed in Goochland County in Virginia Tax Payers 1782-87. He had 27 slaves, so was evidently pretty well off. Shadrack Vaughan, evidently the same man, acquired 2000 acres by state grant 10/17/1779 in Kentucky County on Elkhorn Creek, a north branch of the Kentucky River.

"There are several records I have of John Vaughans that I extracted from the early Patent indexes. I have no way to determine how these individuals tie in to succeeding generations.

"Since Shadrack was located in Goochland County I suspect his family origins were in Prince George County. The Rent Roll of 1704 showed the following Vaughans in Prince George County in 1704:

Jno Vaughan	169
Samuel Vaughan	169
Daniell Vaughan	169
James Vaughan	169
Richard Vaughan	309
Wm Vaughan	309
Nicholas Vaughan	169

This nucleus of Vaughan families ultimately spread out to surrounding counties and seems to have been a primary source of Virginia Vaughans.

"I was unable to link our William with this group of Vaughans. This of course doesn't prove there is no connection. Since William settled some distance to the west of the outposts of what one might call the Prince George Vaughans, and settled among the Scotch Irish, I concluded that he probably followed their path of migration down the Shenandoah Valley. This, and the supposition that he immigrated from Wales, are pure conjecture.

"One thing I didn't dwell on in VP (VAUGHAN PIONEERS), and perhaps should have, is the relationship between William and the John Vaughan of Hawkins County, Tenn...The more I ponder, the more I tend to believe that William and John were brothers. John apparently enlisted from Maryland. There is much detail about his service in both the Maryland and U. S. archives. Despite this, I haven't been able to locate him in other Maryland records. All I have been able to find is a reference to John Vaughan, single, in the Charles County, Md., assessment of 1783. This conceivably could be the Hawkins County John, but there is nothing to shed any light on his origins. There are 3 William Vaughans from Maryland with Revolutionary War service. The most intriguing is the William who enlisted Feb. 10, 1777, for a term of 3 years in the Maryland Artillery. He served in a different company, but the same regiment, as John Vaughan."
(LEWIS V LETTER 10/16/89)

The DAR Index Book 125, as well as various other histories of early Virginia include mentions of a number of Vaughans in Virginia in the early 1700s. Pages 337 and 338 of **EARLY VIRGINIA IMMIGRANTS** list some 27 Vaughans, dating back to 1636 in this country. The list of contemporary Vaughans blooms out to almost unmanageable proportions, of course, as does any family "tree"; and there appear to be numerous candidates for the title of "original Vaughan ancestor in America."

Heath Meriwether, one of the Meriwether family's principal historians, was said to be in retirement when I attempted to contact him through the Meriwether Society. However, I mailed my $15 for a one-year membership in that association in hopes that I might learn a bit more about their kinsman, Shadrach Vaughan. (Their mailing address as of the date of this writing is THE MERIWETHER SOCIETY, Post Office Box 490, Front Royal, Virginia 22630.)

Quite independently of any family association, I was able to obtain a reprint of **THE MERIWETHERS AND THEIR CONNECTIONS**, written by Louisa H. A. Minor and first published by Joel Munsell's Sons of Albany, New York in 1892. The reprint was purchased through Higginson Books of Salem, Massachusetts. From that book I learned very little that we didn't already know about Shadrach:

"Issue of Nicholas, b 1719; d 1758 (third son of Col. David and Anne Holmes) and his wife, Mary Frances Prior. Eight children:

1 Nicholas, b Sept. 9 1741; d Oct. 16, 1741.
2 John, b. Jan. 17, 1743; d March 6, 1743.
3 Reuben, b Dec. 15, 1743; m Miss Dorsey; d 1800; member of Congress.
4 George, b March 25, 1745; d Feb. 4, 1782.
5 Anne, b March 19, 1747; d in infancy.
6 Nicholas, b June 4, 1749; d April 1828.
7 Mary, b. March 1, 1752; m Shadrach Vaughn, M.D.
8 Frances, b Oct. 24, 1754; d Nov. 25, 1757.

[4](MINOR, p.73)

A comment in the Minor book of some interest concerns some of the grandchildren of Nicholas and Mary Frances Prior Meriwether. "Nicholas, another of the sons of David, married Mary Prior, and was the grandfather of Dr. Nicholas Vaughn, Mrs. Dr. Keene and George Vaughn, who was a member of the Convention of Virginia in 1776."
[5](MINOR, p.155)

Two other Meriwether descendants married Vaughans: Nannie Luly Fergerson married a Mr. Vaughn of Louisville, Kentucky; and a Lydia Laurie Lewis married a Capt. Wm. Vaughn as her second husband around 1864 in Kentucky, no issue,
[6](MINOR, pp.27,31,44).

In our chapter on Ships' Passenger Lists we introduce the names of numerous Vaughans, both male and female, who emigrated from England and Wales in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and who, for the most part, settled in Virginia. The reader may want to read or review that portion of this book and then keep these names in mind as we proceed as there could be some interesting coincidental occurences of the same names which could suggest further avenues of research which, in turn, could be productive.

An excellent guidebook to sources of information on early Virginia families is the **Virginia Historical Index.** One caveat which should always be kept in mind when referring to these kinds of materials is simply this: They most generally deal with what I call "high profile people" and not the everyday citizen. This means that most of us even today would not be fit subjects for such attention, and neither were most of our ancestors. However, although we most probably will find few if any of our ancestors as the primary subjects of these stories, they sometimes leave clues leading us to valuable information about others of their kinsmen who occasionally turn out to be ours.

Volume II of the VHI, uses the following abbreviations in its listings: C = Calendar of Virginia State Papers; H = Hening's Statutes; N = Lower Norfolk Coounty Antiquarry; R = Virginia Historical Register; T = Tyler's Quarterly;

V = Virginia Magazine of History; W(1) = William and Mary Quarterly, 1st series; W(2) = William and Mary Quarterly, 2d series. There is now a third series of the William and Mary Quarterly. The numerals and letters in combination are interpreted as follows: 37V347 means the 37th volume of the Virginia Magazine of History, page 347. 13W(1)212 means the 13th volume of the 1st series of the William and Mary Quarterly, page 212. Throughout the remainder of this chapter, we shall use these symbols when referring to any of these publications.

There are more than 205 Vaughn/Vaughans listed, many with multiple references, in addition to entries for four military officers. We have chosen to repeat here the multiple references for two Vaughans - John and William - and those indexed as "Vaughan family." Most of the materials are anecdotal records, stories published in one of the periodicals cited in the preceding paragraph. The sheer numbers of these entries preclude our reviewing them here, but we include them with the thought that one or more readers of this book may follow this up with just such a research/review project. If this should occur, we would be pleased to hear of anything that might shed further light on our branch of Vaughans of Virginia.

Vaughan family: 1C214; 3C132; 4V274; 26V112; 32V111; 36V74; 37 V347; 13W (1)212; 1 4W(1)70; 27W(1)4,6 ; 9W(2)68,238; 10W(2)101,321

Vaughan, John: 4C172, 635, 654; 10C524; 2H16; 7T35; 2V361; 3V325; 5V342; 7V195, 213; 17V105; 19V143, 329; 23V318, 378; 25V78; 28V337; 30V411; 31V228; 38V138; 10W(1)112; 17W(1)41; 20W(1)162; 22W(1)239; 25W(1)210; 26W(1)253; 5W(2)26,28,29

Vaughan, John, deed to from Henry Barbwell: 3V203, 204

Vaughan, General John (British): 2C85; 5T201,204

Vaughan, Sir John: 8V411; 6V146; 34V217; 3W(1)249; 8W(1)20

Vaughan, John B.: 3N119; 5N104

Vaughan, John Fitzhugh: 25V330

Vaughan, William: 6C398; 7C157, 158, 160; 9C424, 483; 10C58; 1N35, 36, 54, 55, 56; 2N35; 3N10, 143; 5N66; 3T205; 5T67, 271; 6T107, 109; 10T184; 3V325; 28V337; 31V228; 33V178; 35V215; 1W(1)122; 8W(1)195; 17W(1)41; 19W(1)195; 22W(1)37 ; 24W(1)1 02, 103; 25W(1)37 ; 26W(1)106, 201

Vaughan, Captain William: 7H221; 8W(1)55, 57

Vaughan, Doctor William: 15V58

Vaughan, William, letter to Governor Tyler: 1809, 10C56

Vaughan, William H.: 17W(1)41

Vaughan, William R.: 2R115; 4W(2)180

Vaughan, Willie: 10W(2)169

As the reader can see, this list is so extensive, we can only sample its contents. In January of 1990 I spent some time at the Tennessee Library & Archives in Nashville doing just that - sampling a few of the foregoing. One entry in volume 3 of the **Calendar of Virginia** pertained to claims by inhabitants of counties adjoining Yorktown for damages to their properties by the French Army. Dated 19 April 1782, the list included inventories of articles taken and provisions consumed. Prominent among the claimants were the names Vaughn, Powell, and Randolph among others. 3C132

A query in the first issue of volume 9, series 2, of the William and Mary Quarterly concerned the Will of a Cornelius Vaughan recorded in Spotsylvania County Virginia in 1775, listing his wife Elizabeth and children Margaret and Martin as heirs. 9W(2)68,238

The first issue of volume 10, series 2, of the WMQ had these entries: On 10 June 1813, a Willie Vaughan was one of six men named to serve 13-hour patrol duty on a march from New Canton during the War of 1812 (p.169). An entry detailing the contents of the Will of John Martin of Goochland County Virginia gave 15 April 1787 as the date of probate and read, in part, as follows: "...to my daughter, Mary Vaughn, 1/3 part of said estate...also two beds and furniture now at Mr. Matthew Vaughn's and what other things there... I constitute and appoint my son Hudson Martin and my son-in-law, Mr. Matthew Vaughn, executors." Matthew Vaughn was described as "an officer in the Revolution." 10W(2)169,318-321

In July of 1904 volume 13 of the first series of the WMQ published a query by a Mrs. S. D. Kennedy, member of the Virginia Historical Society, which stated that Vaughans in Virginia were one of a vast number of families said to be related to the Seldens and Bentons of that state, among others. The same query was repeated the following year in volume 14 under the date July 1905, along with announcements of three Vaughan marriages: Berthe Vaughn m. John W. Pescud; Ann Vaughn, daughter of Thomas Vaughn of Mecklenburg, married Richard Walker; and Anne Vaughan married Fabian Armstrong who was born 12/25/1794 at Mecklenburg, Virginia. 13W(1)212 and 14W(1)70,110,113,284

The 27th volume of the first series of WMQ, dated July 1918, featured a general article by a Lewis H. Jones of Louisville, Kentucky in which Mr. Jones spoke of his Welsh kinsmen including Jones and Vaughans. He stated, in part, "...Vaughan of Courtfield are, as much Herberts as those who bear that surname..." (p.4) He also spke of Drympenock ap Magnarch as the "father to Moreithig Warwyn, he that was borne with the Adder about his necke, for w'ch cause in tyme

aftere he forsooke his paternal Coate and gave the 3 children's heads with adders about their neckes as his posteritie doe at this daye and of him issueth the Vaughans of Brecknockshire..." (p.6) 27W(1)4,6

The same issue contains entries pertaining to a Walter Vaughan, a tithable in the precinct of J. Picket, Orange County Virginia, 1739; the marriage of Reuben Higginbotham, the 12th child of John & Rachel Higginbotham, to a Miss Vaughan of Kentucky on 2 Aug 1789; and the April 6th 1772 transfer of 112 acres of land "on north side Lazarite Creek, Nottoway Parish, Amelia County adjoining Samuel Vaughan, John Beasley," from a George Vaughan of Gilford County North Carolina to a Richard Ward of Amelia County Virginia, for 75 pound sterling. Recorded in Amelia County Deed Book II, p.409. 27W(1)23,125,289

The Virginia Magazine of History, volume 4, has two entries of interest. The name Vaughan is given as one of 18 surnames "peculiarly identified with Dinwiddie County...from the earliest period." And the name of Lewis Vaughan is listed as one of 23 persons transported to America by James Knott for which service Knott was granted 1200 acres of land on the 20th of March 1635. 4V274,425

Volume 1 of the **Calendar of Virginia State Papers** listed Vaughan as one of 34 surnames among the petitioners seeking "land among the Mountains...of Fifty Thousand Acres upon the headwaters of the James River, 1700-1710." 1C214

The foregoing are representative of the kinds of materials contained in the **William & Mary Quarterly**, the **Virginia Magazine of History**, and the **Calendar of Virginia State Papers**. As we have seen, apparently we have gained little or nothing from our sampling of these writings. However, this is not to say that further research would not be warranted or that it would not prove fruitful.

Virginia was almost literally the gateway to America for great numbers of early immigrants of the Colonial era. It is, therefore, only natural that there should be published an equally vast number of books concerning those early settlers of that colony. However, except for those who settled early and stayed put in coastal Virginia, the odds are rather long that any of these publications contain any useful information on any one person or family. Lewis Preston Summers' two-volume **Annals of Southwestern Virginia, 1769-1800** contains numerous references to Looneys as well as a number of entries concerning Vaughans, mostly in Washington and Fincastle Counties.

There are eight references to David Looney, typically entries concerning legal and land-transfer matters as, for example, one in which David Looney had acted as the Administrator of the Estate of one William Prince in the probate of his Will in Fincastle County on the 6th of December 1774. There are nineteen indexed references to

Vaughans named John including one in which a John Vaughan is named to appraise the Estate of Archibald McNeil at the Court for Washington County, 19 November 1778. There is also an entry in which a Thomas T. Vaughan witnessed the Will of John Hash which was probated 27 May 1784 in Montgomery County, Virginia. We have no way at this moment to know if any of the people listed in this book are related to us.[8] (ANNALS, pp.636, 1008, 944)

The only member of our family I recall who ever mentioned a possible connection with "other" Vaughans of Virginia was a distant cousin, Willie Vaughan, who visited us in eastern Kentucky from his home in Tampa, Florida around 1938. At his insistence we called him Cousin Willie. As I recall he drove a Ford touring car and he was unmarried. He spoke of his housekeeper, a Mrs. Scudder. He and my grand-dad, Anthony Wayne Vaughan, were about the same age. I recall that they agreed on our common ancestry. Both spoke of our place in Wales, the Vaughan ancestor who was a poet, and other such matters. Other specifics I recall from that visit were Cousin Willie's mentioning his grandfather William and/or his great-grandfather William. He also spoke of Vaughan kinfolk in, as I recall, Kent or New Kent County in Virginia. I recall that he and grand-dad understood perfectly who their common ancestors were. I wish I could be more specific about him and our common Vaughan background, but I cannot.

The subject of this chapter deserves a book unto itself for we have only begun to scratch the surface, as it were, so far as touching on the lives of Vaughans of Virginia. However, this is but another topic which we must leave to another writer, perhaps someone who in another time and place will be more suitably situated to deal with it at great length.

Chapter Seven

The Crickhowell Biographies

As a preface I should inform the reader of the nature of the primary reference material cited in this chapter which, while authentic, was for a time unnamed. In 1982 Lou and Joe Vaughan photo-copied some biographical matter from a book which they found in the library at Crickhowell. After numerous unsuccessful efforts to establish communication with the librarian at Crickhowell to identify this source book, we began to refer to this material as CRICKHOWELL, or the Crickhowell biographies.

Just prior to publication we learned that the librarian had been ill, thus the delay in answering. The book is ***The Dictionary of (Welsh) National Biography, Volume XX****. Several Vaughans whose lives are reviewed in those photocopied pages may be of interest to us although, at this stage, we know not which ones. Other sources cited include interesting reminiscences on the life of Benjamin Vaughan (1751-1835), son of Samuel Vaughan (b. 1720), and grandson of Benjamin Vaughan (b. 1679), by John H. Sheppard, Librarian of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society in 1865.*

We begin this chapter with excerpts from the Crickhowell Biographies on Benjamin (1751-1835), to which we have appended some commentary gleaned from the Sheppard profile. With the exception of the Sheppard profile, all other materials are derived from the Crickhowell biographies from ***The Dictionary of (Welsh) National Biography, Volume XX*** *which we continue to refer to as CRICKHOWELL.*

Benjamin Vaughan (1751-1835)

Benjamin Vaughan (1751-1835) has been described as a "politician and political economist, born in Jamaica on 19 April 1751... the eldest son of Samuel Vaughan, a West Indian merchant and planter..." His mother was Sarah Hallowell, daughter of Benjamin Hallowell of Boston. "William Vaughan (1752-1830) [q.v.] was his younger brother..." [1] (CRICKHOWELL, p.158)

The material on Benjamin Vaughan is extensive, detailing his activities as a private secretary to Lord Shelburne and (in 1790) in Paris with Lord Wycombe, Shelburne's son. He was introduced to Benjamin Franklin and in 1779 issued the first collective edition of Franklin's works in London. "In June 1782 he was sent to Paris to give private assurances to Franklin that the death of Lord Rockingham and the accession to power of Lord Shelburne had caused no change of policy in regard to the intention of recognising the independence of the United Colones." In 1798 he retired to America where he is said to have "joined his brothers and his relatives on the side of his mother at Hallowell..." [2] (IBID.)

Benjamin's brother, William, would have been of the proper age to have been Fereby's William. It will be noted that this particular family had a mercantile background (in Jamaica), and roots in the Boston area from whence our William is said to have obtained his trade goods, according to Cora Call. The Crickhowell biographies include additional information with regard to Benjamin's brother, William, information that, I regret to relate, removes him from our list of potential emigre ancestors. But other questions arise. Did this William have a close cousin perhaps, another William Vaughan who learned the mercantile business from his more affluent kinsmen in Boston, and who possibly obtained his trade goods from them? Don't scoff! Vaughans then and now were and are numerous - thick upon the ground, as Professor Ralph Griffiths puts it - and many of them were related. I do not presume to believe at this point that our William was a lettered man as these Vaughans obviously were, nor do I feel that anyone at any time in the near or distant future will necessarily find that our William was closely connected to this particular family. However, as I shall show from the Sheppard remarks, these Vaughans were Tretower Vaughans, and so were we. I remain convinced that the bloodline relationship between all of the early Vaughans of Tretower and Bredwardine, and our Vaughans is as real and inviolate as those relationships that have been proved through dated documentation.

John H. Sheppard, Librarian of the New England Historical & Genealogical Society, prepared a rather elaborate biographical profile on the life and times of Benjamin Vaughan, LL.D., which was published by David Clapp & Son of Boston in 1865. The following excerpts are from a reprint of Sheppard's work which he read before the society on August 2 of that year.

"Samuel Vaughan, the father of Benjamin Vaughan, was a wealthy merchant who, after residing several years in Jamaica, removed to London when this son, of whom a sketch will be given shortly, was but a lad. His next son, William followed his father's profession and was settled for life in that city where he remained single and lived to a great age, lacking only a few months of Ninety-eight. A member and correspondent of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, he was highly valued and respected for his knowledge and researches..." [3](SHEPPARD, p.5)

"Charles, a brother of William, came early to this country and settled in Boston; probably about 1785; for he was married, March 7, 1790, to Frances W., daughter of John Apthorp, Esq., of Boston, by the Rev. Samuel Parker, D.D., of Trinity Church, afterwards Bishop; Hannah, her sister, married Charles Bulfinch, the eminent Architect. Mr. Vaughan was a man of great energy and enterprise. In his prosperity he stood in the foremost rank of merchants in this country..." [4](IBID.)

"John Vaughan, another brother, settled in Philadelphia about 1790. For sixty-five years he was Secretary of the Am. Philosophical Society. He wrote some valuable articles which they published. He corresponded with eminent men, and was intimately acquainted with Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson...

"The husband of Rebecca Vaughan, John Merrick, Esq., who died 22 Oct., 1861, at nearly 95 years of age, was the son of Samuel Merrick of Kidderminster, England. The family were of Welch (sic) origin...

"Rev. John A. Vaughan, son of Charles, graduated at Bowdoin College in 1815, and received the D.D. at Columbia College. Dr. Vaughan died at Philadelphia June 5, 1865, in his 70th year. The Episcopal Recorder (July, 1865, Phila.) remarks: 'To this holy man the Church of the Mediator owes a large debt of gratitude. He was the friend, father and benefactor of it.'...

"In a brief Memoir of Benjamin Vaughan, M.D., LL.D., by the late Hon. Robert Hollowell Gardiner, published in the Collections of the Maine Hist. Society, Vol. vi., we are informed that Dr. Vaughan in his lifetime desired that no biography should be written of him...

"Dr. Vaughan was born in Jamaica, April 19, 1751. He was sent to school at Hackney, and afterwards entered the Academy at Warrington, where he resided in the family of Dr. Priestley the preceptor...At the age of 19 he was admitted into the University of Cambridge...He then studied Law at the Temple, in London; and also Medicine in Edinburgh...

"June 30, 1781, he married Sarah, daughter of William Manning, a wealthy London merchant, and it is said the two fathers at the time settled a handsome fortune on the happy couple. Mr. Manning soon after took him into partnership; but the great arena of Politics had more fascination for his aspiring mind than the narrow counting-room of trade. The glory of American Independence was then lighting up the Western World; it roused all his Republican proclivities, for he had long been a warm friend to this country, and was an associate with Franklin, Priestley and Price..." [5] (SHEPPARD, pp.5-8)

At the outbreak of the French Revolution, he spent some time near Paris before writing to his brother Charles in Boston and sending his family to 'Little Cambridge'. In 1796 he moved into a house he had built for his family at Hallowell, the site of his inherited land holdings along the Kennebec River in Maine. There he remained until his death in 1835.

Incorporated on the 26th of April in 1771, Hallowell was said to consist of several smaller towns or communities, one of which was Augusta, the State Capitol, then known as Fort Western. The blockhouse of the latter was still standing in 1865 when Sheppard wrote the profile. Hallowell itself was described as "a remarkable village" although small in

population. "Several families had settled there whose eye had once looked on better days."[6] (SHEPPARD, pp.10-11, 17)

Dr. Benjamin Vaughan and his wife, Sarah Manning Vaughan, had seven children, all educated by private tutors in the home at Hallowell. Harriet (1782-1798), the eldest, was always sickly. She died unmarried.

William Oliver (1783-1826) married Martha Agry in 1806 and later became an enterprising merchant. Sarah (1784-1847) was described as "a lady of small, but graceful form, and of a highly cultivated mind." She was a talented painter of birds and flowers, remained single, died on a visit to Boston and is buried under Trinity Church. Henry (1786-1806) drowned at sea at age 20 aboard the schooner Hannah on a passage from the West Indies to Kennebec. The fifth child and second son, Petty (1788-1854), a boyhood friend of Sheppard, returned to work with his uncle William in London where he died July 20, 1854. Lucy (1790-1855), a talented artist, married William Emmons, Judge of Probate for the County of Kennebec. The youngest, Elizabeth (1793-1855) marrried Samuel Grant, a wealthy merchant of Gardiner.

Sheppard describes Dr. Benjamin Vaughan as a philosopher and a lover of wisdom. Apparently his inherited wealth enabled him to pursue a life of his own choosing. Although a medical doctor as well as the holder of a doctorate in law, Benjamin Vaughan did not practice as a physician "except among the very poor, or in critical cases of consultation" with a Doctor Page. As to religion, he was said to be a Unitarian, of that class that believed in the Atonement. "Denied the Sacrament where he worshipped, he partook of the Holy Eucharist with the Episcopalians at Christ Church, Gardiner."[7] (SHEPPARD, pp.12-21)

In 1825 when the Marquis de la Fayette visited the United States, he paid a visit to the city of Portland, Maine. A Colonel Isaac Emery, an aide to Governor Albion Parris, is said to have called the attention of the governor to "an old gentleman clothed in black ... his hair white ... hat in hand" and long-engaged in conversation with the Marquis. "I fear he will annoy him," Emery reportedly whispered to the Governor, and he then offered to send him away. "What?" Governor Parris replied, "that venerable man? That is Dr. Benjamin Vaughan of Hallowell; he is an old and intimate friend of the Marquis."[8] (SHEPPARD, p.24)

Samuel Vaughan, the father of Benjamin, visited this country on at least three occasions - in 1784, 1785, and in 1787. On the occasion of his third and final visit in the Summer of 1787, he kept a 74-page personal diary of his journey through Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland. Through the courteous loan of this diary by a Charles Deane, John M. Sheppard was permitted a glimpse into this man's personal impressions during his travels.

"Some of the descriptions are quite graphic, such as 'the hanging woods' on the hills of Bethlehem where at that time there was a flourishing brotherhood of Moravians; Carlisle, with its 500 houses and Dickinson's College, beautifully situated on a hill there, having 70 students;

"And Pittsburgh, lying like an amphitheatre with about 150 houses, mostly log-framed. He gives a sketch with his pencil of Fort Pitt, which cost England 100,000 pounds.

"At this place Mr. Vaughan evinced his attachment to the American Independence by joining with twenty-eight gentlemen in celebrating the 4th of July, (1787)." [9] (SHEPPARD, p.5 notes)

Samuel Vaughan also visited Mt. Vernon where it was said he was kindly received. Following his visit there, he received a letter from General Washington, dated 'Mount Vernon, 12 November 1787.'

"'Although I can have little doubt of the pleasure you must feel at the prospect of being soon reunited to your lady and family in England, I do not scruple to confess that I shall be among those who will view your departure from this country with regret. At the same time I beg leave to add that I shall reflect with pleasure on the friendship with which you have honored me.'"

These materials provide one final bit of information of great interest to all Vaughans claiming descent from the Welsh line of Vaughan of Tretower. On Sheppard's final page of notes is the following:

"Arms - I have before me the book-plates of Dr. Benjamin Vaughan and his father, Samuel Vaughan, Esq. They both bear the Vaughan arms, sa. a chevron ar. between three boys' heads couped at the shoulders, enwrapped about the neck with as many snakes, ppr. Both impale the arms of their wives, and have the Vaughan crest, a boy's head as in the arms." [10] (SHEPPARD, p. 40 notes)

As to the matter of our William and his possible connection with this particular family, let me state with all candor that there is absolutely no evidence that our William Vaughan was in any wise related to Vaughans of Hallowell except ancestrally from a common ancestor in Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower. For one thing, the material wealth of this family at this particular time in history placed them in an altogether different social strata than that of our William Vaughan. Furthermore, although Benjamin and his younger brother, William, and our William were contemporaries, there is nothing to indicate any sort of blood kinship or even awareness of each other.

None of this sways me in the slightest from my belief that Benjamin and William Vaughan of Hallowell and William Vaughan of our line were both descended from common ancestors, namely Roger Vaughan of Tretower. In Sheppard's profile of Benjamin, we have the reference to the family

arms, described in every particular in terms identical to the Arms of Descendants of Vaughan of Tretower.

As to our Vaughans, we have the parallel stories told by and to members of the northwest Arkansas branch of William's family and our Virginia branch, both identifying us as being of the same Tretower stock. Yet, for lack of documentation of the kind preferred by practising genealogists, we may never know exactly who our missing Tretower link was. That misleading social barometer we refer to as material wealth, which changes not only from one generation to the next but in an instant within any given generation, should not be allowed to cloud our minds and prevent us from seeing through the trappings of society to the real roots of family. The pursuit of wealth has always been elusive.

It is a matter of historic fact that members of every family - including Vaughans of Hallowell and their earlier progenitors, Vaughans of Tretower - have had to contend with limited economic resources, forcing some members of every generation to leave their homes to seek a more promising and accomodating environment.

At this point in our investigation, it seems to me that the odds favored just such a prospect for our William Vaughan in and around the years 1760-1770, at which time he surely began to contemplate where his best interests lie in the New World. And the nagging questions persist: Who were his parents. Where was he born? When and where did he first enter Virginia? Did he go there and into North Carolina as a "Welsh trader with the Indians" as Cora Call suggested? If so, where did he get his knowledge of trade goods? Was Cora Call onto something when she spoke of Old William's obtaining his trade goods in Boston?

William Vaughan (1752-1850)

The William Vaughan of Hallowell (1752-1850), Benjamin's younger brother and the second son of London merchant Samuel Vaughan and his wife, Sarah Hollowell of Boston, is described in the Crickhowell biographies as a merchant and author. He was educated at Newcome's School at Hackney and at the academy at Warrington in Lancashire. Devoting himself to his father's mercantile business, he was elected in 1783 a director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation and he continued in various capacities including that of governor of that organization until 1829. From 1793 to 1797 he published a series of studies and became an authority on docks and other maritime matters. Although his whereabouts during his declining years are little noted, we may assume that he continued to reside in or near London, and the record of his life removes him from the list of candidates as our William Vaughan, although those two were, of course, contemporaries and, as we have noted, may have been simultaneously in Boston.

Rowland Vaughan (1600-1680)

Rowland Vaughan, Welsh writer and son and heir of John Vaughan of Caer Gai, Merionethshire, served as sheriff of his county in 1613 and again in 1620. Born around 1600, he came into possession of Caer Gai in 1629 upon the death of his father. He apparently spent his entire life in Wales and England where he was widely regarded as a writer of note. His loyalty to the crown during the civil war resulted in the burning of his house at Caer Gai in 1645. His estate was turned over to a kinsman and he was imprisoned in 1650 but only briefly as he is listed as a grandjuryman in Merionethshire two years later. The Vaughan estates at Caer Gai and Coed Pryag ultimately passed to the Wynnstay family. Rowland and his wife, Jane Price Vaughan, had four sons, John, Edward, Arthur, and Gabriel. They, in turn, had issue, thus providing us with further open ended genealogical possibilities. The Christian name of Rowland was said to have been repeated in later generations and, as we shall see when we examine Filby's records, a Rowland Vaughan appears on one of the Filby lists of ships' passengers.

Vaughans of Golden Grove

As we have discovered in Glanmor Williams' book, there are numerous records of Vaughans in Wales in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, some known to be related to Vaughans of Tretower and others whose origins are unclear. According to Williams, Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, descendant of Vaughans of Bredwardine and Tretower, had three sons, although some sources say he sired six male heirs. One of them, John Vaughan, was said to have "acquired many Crown leases, including a number of former Dynevor lands." Vaughans of Golden Grove also produced William, John's brother, who was a writer of some repute. His works included **The Golden Grove** published in 1600, a book describing social and economic conditions in Wales during the author's time. In addition to the biographical material of Glanmor Williams, the Crickhowell manuscript also devotes considerable space to Vaughans of Golden Grove, including William Vaughan who is perhaps the most interesting of all those profiled in that particular family.

William Vaughan (1577-1641)

William Vaughan (1577-1641), is characterized as a poet and colonial pioneer. The second son of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, William is said to have had at least two brothers, Sir Henry Vaughan (1587-1659) and the John Vaughan referred to in the preceding paragraph. Again it should be noted that the Glanmor Williams sources give the number of male sons born to Walter Vaughan as three,

while the Crickhowell biographies refer to Sir Henry as the sixth son of Walter Vaughan. [11] (CRICKHOWELL, p.163)

The reader is reminded that here we have another generation in which the full complement of children born to a particular couple is not fully documented, thus leaving open another opportunity for further genealogical research (or error).

William and John attended Jesus College at Oxford from 1591 to 1595, and again in 1597 when William was granted the M.A. degree. Although very little is found on the life of John, we have access to considerable information on the life and times of William. Following travel and study in France and Italy, he visited Vienna and completed work on the LL.D. which was conferred on him at Oxford in 1605. His wife was struck down and killed by lightning in 1608, a tragedy that marked him for the rest of his life. Two years later, King James I granted a large tract of land in Newfoundland to a group of colonizers from whom William Vaughan purchased a portion. Organizing his own colony of settlers, he set out for Newfoundland, determined to establish a new country which he chose to call Cambriol. In addition to this Welsh name, he named one settlement Vaughan's Cove, another Golden Grove, and still others for counties in Wales. Although his colonizing effort failed, some of these names survive in Newfoundland to this day.

One surviving copy of William Vaughan's **Cambrensium Caroleia**, written in celebration of the marriage of Charles I, is said to repose today in the British Museum. Another, perhaps better known work is his **Golden Fleece**, published in 1626 and described as "a compound of truth and fiction, of quaint prose and quainter verse." Written at least in part to promote William's idea that Newfoundland held out the promise of much happiness for those who would make it their home, early editions of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica heralded it as a worthwhile early contribution to English literature from America.

William of Golden Grove returned to England in 1630 to settle his personal affairs. As we have seen, he died at Torcoed in August of 1641, and he was buried in Llangyndeyrn Churchyard. By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of David ap Robert of Llangyndeyrn, he had one son, Francis, who died while still quite young. His second wife Anne, only child of John Christmas of Colchester, bore him five daughters and one son, Edward, who was admitted to Gray's Inn and later knighted at Oxford in 1643. Anne died at age eighty-four, some thirty-one years after William's demise. Her remains were interred in St. Peters Church at Carmarthenshire where her monument and kneeling effigy remain to this day.

The differences noted with regard to the number of sons born to Walter Vaughan provide us once again with some interesting ancestral possibilities.

Sir Henry Vaughan (1587-1659)

This Sir Henry Vaughan is described in the Crickhowell biographies as a 'royalist soldier' and the sixth son of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire. William (1577-1641) was his elder brother. Presumably there were four other brothers, including John and, according to Dwnn, one named Walter (of Llanelly). On this matter neither the Crickhowell material nor that of Glanmor Williams sheds much light. Sir Henry served as sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1620 and as a Member of Parliament for Carmarthen from 1621 to 1629. Although he was knighted at Oxford on New Years Day in 1643, his attempt to return to parliament was thwarted by his opponents who charged him with placing 'scandalous ministers to serve six parrish churches.'

Elevated to the rank of major general, he reportedly abandoned his headquarters at Haverfordwest under mysterious circumstances in March of 1643. Two years later at the battle of Naseby he was taken prisoner, brought before the House of Commons and committed to the Tower of London where he remained until he was removed to the Fleet prison on the first of October, 1647. Unlike other members of his family, Sir Henry was an unabashed royalist, remaining loyal to the crown throughout the civil conflicts of his time. In a cavalier song of 1647, he is referred to as 'Sir Harry':

Sir Harry Vaughan looks as grave
As any beard can make him.
Those [who] come poore prisoners to see
Doe for our Patriarke take him.
Old Harry is a right true blue,
As valiant as Pendraggon,
And would be loyall to his king
Had King Charles ne'er a rag on.

Sir Henry was probably released from prison around 1650. There is a portrait of him dated 1644 at Derwydd where he and his wife settled following their marriage around 1610. His wife, Sage, was the daughter and heiress of Derwydd, a house she inherited from her first husband, John Gwyn William. They had at least two sons, their eldest, John, who apparently died young, and Sir Henry Vaughan the Younger (1613-1676).

Sir Henry Vaughan (1613-1676)

Sir Henry Vaughan the Younger also served in the royalist army. When Tenby was captured by Cromwell in May of 1648 he was taken prisoner and confined in Tenby Castle. Elevated to the rank of Colonel before the end of the civil strife in Wales, he was knighted at Whitehall on the ninth of January 1661. Like his father, he also served for a time as sheriff

of Carmarthenshire, and as M.P. for the county from 1667 until his death on 26 December 1676. Married to Elizabeth Herbert, eldest daughter and coheiress of William Herbert of Colebrook, Monmouthshire, he fathered one child, Margaretta who died without issue in 1704. Upon her death the estate fell to Sir Henry's nephew, Richard Vaughan of Derllys (1654-1724) who served as M.P. in fourteen successive parliaments (1685-1724) for the borough of Carmarthen.

William Vaughan (1650-1719)

The Crickhowell material also tells of another William Vaughan who, while born in Wales, grew up in London. He emigrated to New England, landing in Portsmouth, New Hampshire in 1666. On 18 September 1679 he became one of the councillors of that province, serving in that capacity until 1716. He died in 1719. He is of a proper age to have been a grandparent of our William, but we are not suggesting that he was for we know nothing of any surviving heirs.

Sir William Vaughan (1600-1649)

Another Sir William Vaughan, a descendant of Vaughans who settled early on in Shropshire and Herefordshire, was royalist governor of Shrawardine Castle. He served as a general of Shropshire during the civil outbreak, having placed his minister brother James in command of his castle during his forays against the parliamentarians. Near the war's end, he is said to have gone over to The Hague where he took command of a ship and sailed for Ireland. He died in battle in 1649. Records show that a Charles Vaughan served as the administrator of his estate two years later and we have no way to know of his relationship to the deceased or whether there were heirs.

William Vaughan (1716-1780)

Yet another William Vaughan (1716-1780) served as a Jacobite soldier and Spanish officer. The third son of John Vaughan (1675-1752) of Courtfield. Lifelong devout adherents to the Catholic faith, this William's ancestor Thomas was persecuted for his religious belief and died at the hands of his tormentors in 1641. William fled Monmouthshire to the north along with David Morgan who was executed for high treason in 1746. The following year he accompanied Prince Charles from Paris to Madrid where, on the recommendation of the prince, he was made a lieutenant colonel in a regiment named Hibernia. On 26 October in 1777 he was raised to the rank of major general and took command of troops in Buenos Aires. He died less than one year later. This William had an elder brother, Richard, (b.1708), who also fought during the Jacobite uprising. He married a Spanish lady, Donna

Francesca. They had one daughter, Elizabeth, and a son, William (1740-1796) who succeeded to the Courtfield estate and continued the line. Two direct descendents are Cardinal Vaughan and Roger William Vaughan. We have, by now, just about exhausted the available biographical data on William Vaughans of the period in which we are most interested and it is a certainty that none of them is the William Vaughan who married Fereby Benton. But what of their kinsmen? Let us continue searching for possible clues by way of others whose lives are detailed in the Crickhowell papers.

Richard Vaughan (1600-1686)

Returning to an earlier period, we have some information to relate concerning the second Earl of Carbery, Richard Vaughan (1600-1686), the eldest son of John Vaughan, the first earl, of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire. Richard was a son of John's first wife, Margaret Meyrick, daughter of Sir Gelly Meyrick [q.v.], whose family claimed descent from Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, prince of Powys.

Apparently the first Vaughan to settle at Golden Grove was the builder of its first house, John Vaughan, whose son Walter is said to have "greatly strengthened the position of the family by marrying for his first wife Katherine, second daughter of Griffith Rhys of Dynevor, son of Rhys ap Griffith (ap Sir Rhys ap Thomas [q.v.], by Katherine, daughter of Thomas, duke of Norfolk. His second wife was Letitia, daughter of Sir John Perrot [q.v.], and afterwards wife of Arthur, Lord Chichester [q.v.]."[12] (CRICKHOWELL, p.171)

A Member of Parliament for Carmarthenshire from 1624 to 1629, Richard was knighted at the coronation of Charles I in February of 1626. On the 25th of October in 1643 he was created an English peer as Baron Vaughan of Emlyn in Carmarthenshire. He also served as a lieutenant-general of the royal army in the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke. Married three times, his only surviving issue was by his second wife, Frances Altham Vaughan, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Altham of Oxbey, Herfordshire. Francis, the eldest son, married Rachel Wriothesley but he died in 1667 without issue. A second son, John (1640-1713) then became the third and final Earl of Carbery. If there were other sons, we presently have no record of them.

John Vaughan (1640-1713)

John Vaughan (1640-1713), the third and last Earl of Carbery, was the second son of Richard Vaughan (1600-1686), second Earl of Carbery who was the eldest son of John Vaughan, first Earl of Carbery and resident of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire. This line of Vaughans, all earls of Carbery, are proven descendents of Sir Roger Vaughan of

Bredwardine and (thus) directly related to Vaughans of Tretower. John Vaughan, the third earl, had an interesting life. Knighted in April of 1661, he sat as a Member of Parliament for the borough of Carmarthen from 1661 to 1679. He was appointed governor of Jamaica, sailing there in December of 1674 accompanied by Henry Morgan, the buccaneer who had been made lieutenant-general of the island. At times a controversial person, John succeeded his brother to the courtesy title of Lord Vaughan in 1667, and his father as third Earl of Carbery in 1686. One entry in our Crickhowell source alludes to his having a taste for literature in a manner similar to that of several other members of his family. "Besides being president of the Royal Society (1686-1689), he was one of Dryden's earliest patrons, from as early as 1664, and wrote some commendatory verses which are prefixed to his 'Conquest of Granada' (1670-1672)."[13] (CRICKHOWELL, p.174)

We are now confronted with yet another set of interesting circumstances in that Benjamin and William Vaughan, whom we discussed previously, had commercial interests in the same part of the world as this John Vaughan, but some one hundred years later. Their father, Samuel Vaughan, was described as a West Indian merchant and planter and one is moved to speculate on the familial relationships of these two sets of Vaughans. John Vaughan, the third earl, had three wives but no male heirs. When his daughter and heiress, Anne, died without issue 20 September 1751, she and her deceased husband, Charles Powlett, third duke of Bolton, left the John Vaughan estates, said to be by this time the largest in West Wales, to Anne's kinsman, John Vaughan of Torcoed. Here we have a rather interesting bit of information in that Torcoed is also the estate where William Vaughan (1577-1641) lived when his wife, who also bore the Christian name Anne, was struck and killed by lightning in 1608. William at times referred to Torcoed as Terra-Coed. He died at Torcoed in 1641. The John Vaughan of Torcoed to whom the third earl left that estate died in 1765. His grandson bequeathed the property in 1804 to his friend John Campbell.[14] (IBID.)

Sir John Vaughan (1728-1795)

Sir John Vaughan (1728-1795), the youngest son of Wilmot Vaughan, who was third viscount of Lisburne, and Elizabeth Watson Vaughan, the eldest daughter of Thomas Watson of Berwick-on-Tweed, is another contemporary of our William, age-wise, but his life was spent in entirely different parts of the world. (The Crickhowell materials contain a rather serious and obvious error with regard to his age, we should note, in that the more likely year of his birth appears to have been 1728, not 1748.)

Sir John entered the 52nd regiment of marines, later named the 9th regiment of Colonel Pawlett, on the 9th of April 1748. He made a career of the military, moving swiftly to the rank of colonel at the outbreak of the American Revolution. Upon being sent to America to serve under Lord Cornwallis, he was advanced to the rank of major general. He is said to have accompanied Major General Sir Henry Clinton on an expedition up the North River, commanding the attack on Fort Montgomery in October of 1777. It was said that his horse was shot from beneath him and that he then conducted the attack with great gallantry on foot.

Sir Henry Clinton issued orders on the 9th day of October honoring Vaughan. "Fort Montgomery," he said, "is henceforth to be distinguished by the name of Fort Vaughan, in memory of the intrepidity and noble perseverance which Major General Vaughan showed in the assault of it."[15] (CRICKHOWELL, p.169)

A member of the English Parliament for Berwick from 1774, Sir John Vaughan also sat in the Irish Parliament for St. Johnstown from 1776 until 1783. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general in 1782 and was created Knight of the Bath in 1792. He died at Martinique on the third of June 1795. He never married.

Sir John Vaughan (1769-1839)

Another Sir John Vaughan (1769-1839) was a judge. The third son of James Vaughan, M.D. of Leicester, and Hester Smalley Vaughan, daughter of Leicester alderman John Smalley, this John Vaughan had at least three brothers, Sir Henry Halford Vaughan [q.v.], Peter Vaughan, and Sir Charles Richard Vaughan. Educated at Rugby and Oxford, he was twice married, first in 1803 to Augusta Beauchamp, daughter of Henry Beauchamp, the twelfth baron St. John of Bletsho, and secondly in 1823 to Louisa Rouse-Broughton, eldest daughter of Sir Charles William Rouse-Broughton. By his first wife, he fathered Henry Halford Vaughan, another son, and four daughters. One son and one daughter were borne by his second wife.

Sir Charles Richard Vaughan (1774-1849)

Sir John Vaughan's younger brother, Sir Charles Richard Vaughan (1774-1849), was of a proper age to have been a contemporary of William and Fereby's first-born, Thomas Vaughan. But, while our Thomas probably struggled to establish himself as a self-supporting farm owner-operator in western Virginia, Sir Charles had an easier and entirely different sort of life in England. His father was, of course, a professional man who was able to send his children to universities. Highly educated, Charles entered Rugby in 1788 and proceeded from there to Oxford, taking a B.A. there in 1796, and the M.A. in 1798. He departed his medical

school curriculum in 1800 and travelled extensively in Germany, France, and Spain for the next three years. Subsequent activities kept him abroad for most of his adult life. In 1820 he accepted a position under his old friend Sir Charles Stuart as secretary of the British Embassy in Paris. From 1826 to 1830 he made several trips to America, reporting back to the king on affairs in the United States where he was on intimate terms with Henry Clay, among others. He died unmarried in his house on Hertford Street in Mayfair on the 15th of June in 1849.

Henry Halford Vaughan (1811-1885)

The Crickhowell source book has nothing to say of Peter Vaughan. There is, however, a word-portrait of Henry Halford Vaughan (1811-1885) who is, apparently, the youngest son of Sir John Vaughan (1769-1839) and his wife, Augusta Beauchamp Vaughan. A professor of modern history, Henry won a chancellor's prize at Oxford in 1836 for his English essay, 'Effects of a National Taste for general and diffusive Reading'. After many years devoted to teaching and writing, Henry Halford Vaughan settled at Upton Castle, Pembrokeshire in 1867 where he died in 1885. His wife, Adeline Maria Jackson Vaughan, died in 1881. They had one son, W. W. Vaughan, who edited some of his father's Welsh verse, and four daughters.

Sir John Vaughan (1603-1674)

A Sir John Vaughan (1603-1674) who obviously is of a much earlier generation than the Sir John Vaughan (1769-1839) of our preceding discussion, is given considerable space in the Crickhowell biographies. He is described as a judge and the eldest son of Edward Vaughan of Trawscoed, Cardiganshire, said to have been the family's home since the thirteenth century. Edward's wife, Letitia Stedman, born at Trawscoed on the 13th of September in 1603, is described as the daughter of John Stedman of Strata Florida Abbey in the same county. Young John was educated at King's School, Worcester, and Christ Church, Oxford. Following his admission to the practice of law, his practice was said to have brought him both wealth and fame. Returning to his home borough of Cardigan around 1641, "he subscribed the protestation of loyalty to the protestant religion on 3 May (following), but on the outbreak of hostilities adhered to the king, and retired to Trawscoed, which was plundered by roundheads on 26 January 1644-5." He is said to have saved himself from sequestration by rendering assistance to the parliamentary forces at the siege of Aberystwith Castle (1646). "[16] (CRICKHOWELL, p.167)

He served the king at his request as one of his advisers in 1648, and was knighted in 1668. He sat for a time in

1669-70 as speaker of the House of Lords. He died at Serjeant's Inn on the tenth of December 1674. Although he and his wife probably had several children, we are presently made aware of only one, a son Edward who is said to have edited some of his father's manuscripts. A portrait of Sir John which formerly hung in the Clarendon gallery was stolen. However, engraved portraits of him are in the British Museuem.

Charles John Vaughan (1816-1897)

Described as headmaster of Harrow, master of the Temple, and dean of Llandaff, Charles John Vaughan was the second son born to Edward Thomas Vaughan, vicar of St. Martin's at Leicester, and Agnes Pares Vaughan. An outstanding scholar, he completed his B.A., M.A., and D.D. *per regias literas* at Cambridge where he was bracketed with Lord Lyttelton as "a senior classic and chancellor's medalist" while still an undergraduate.

Ordained in 1841, he accepted the position of headmaster at Harrow in 1844. Resigning that post in 1859 after a distinguished career as an academician, he turned down the prestigious office of bishopric of Rochester, choosing instead to devote himself to the work of vicar of an ordinary town parrish at Doncaster. In 1869 he accepted the mastership of the Temple, and ten years later became dean of Llandaff. Although he published numerous religious works, he died in 1897 leaving a strict injunction that no life of him should be published. We have no record of marriage or children.

Edward Vaughan (1450-1522)

The first fact that is of interest to us regarding the life of Edward Vaughan is the probable date of his birth - ca 1450, the year Sir Roger Vaughan took possession of Tretower Court and Castle - where, upon noticing same, one is caused to wonder what, if any, the relationship between these two might have been. Described in the Crickhowell book as bishop of Saint David's and "presumably of Welsh origin, being, according to some, a native of South Wales," he was educated at Cambridge where he received his LL.D. He then served in a variety of roles at St. Matthews on Friday Street in London, at Islington, St. Paul's, and St. David's where he has been assigned "the most prominent place among the prelates who occupied the see of St. David's during the closing days of the ante-reformation era."[17] (CRICKHOWELL, p. 162)

He erected the beautiful chapel at Saint David's which still bears his name, and is credited with the building of chapels at Lamphey, Leland, St. Justinian, and Llawhaden Castle. He spent his declining years at Carew Castle near

Lamphey where he died in November of 1522. His will of 1521 was proved the following year but we have no record of it's contents at this time. A plain marble tomb at Vaughan Chapel in Lamphey was chosen to contain his remains, but a richly engraved brass effigy has long since vanished. Upon completing the chapel at Saint David's, he placed upon the walls three coats of arms - his own, those of Henry VII, and of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, the latter described as probably his patron. Because of the design of these three arms, we may be reasonably certain that he was descended from Vaughans of Bredwardine and was thus related to Vaughans of Tretower. There is no record of marriage or children although his will could leave other valuable clues.

Sir Griffith (Vychan) Vaughan (1387-1447)

A Vaughan of even earlier vintage is chronicled in the Crickhowell material. A son of Griffith ap Ieuan and his wife Maud, Griffith Vaughan - or Vychan, which probably was Fychan in an earlier version, meaning 'the younger' - inherited a taste for rebellion from his father. Griffith the elder was implicated in the Glendower Rebellion in 1403, defending Caus Castle against the forces of Henry IV. His valorous deeds were celebrated in a poem by Lewys Glyn Cothi.

Griffith the younger inherited lands in Burgedin, Treflydau, Garth, and Maesmawr, and he accompanied Henry V to France where he fought at Agincourt and was made a knight on 25 October 1415. Two years later he and his brother were rewarded for capturing Sir John Oldcastle who had intruded upon their ancestral estate at Broniarth. However, some thirty years later, he offended the queen, Margaret of Anjou, who pronounced him a rebel and set a price upon his head of five hundred marks. Henry de Grey, lord of Powys, in April of 1447, summoned Sir Griffith to the castle of Pool where he was beheaded 'without judge or jury.'

Sir Griffith Vaughan and his wife Margaret, daughter of Griffith ap Jenkins of Broughton, had three sons and three daughters. The eldest son was David Lloyd Vaughan of Leighton who was to become the ancestor of Lloyds of Marrington, Marton and Stockton. The second son was Cadwalader Vaughan, the ancestor of Lloyds of Maesmawr. The youngest of the sons, Reginald Vaughan, was the ancestor of Wynnes of Garth and of the Lloyds of Broniarth and Gaervawr. There is at present no known record of further issue in succeeding generations, although all three of these male children are potential sources of genealogical clues.

Rice Vaughan (1620-1672)

Rice Vaughan, a son and heir of Henry Vaughan of Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, is described as a legal

writer. He was admitted to the practice of law at Gray's Inn on the thirteenth of August 1638. The author of numerous legal tracts, including **A Plea for the Common Laws of England** (1651), and **A Discourse of Coin and Coinage** (1675), he died in 1672 and little is known of his family.

Richard Vaughan (1550-1607)

Born at Nyffryn in Llyn, Carnarvonshire, Richard was the second son of Thomas ap Robert Vaughan whose wife was a member of the Griffin family. Educated at Saint John's College, Cambridge, he graduated B.A. (1573), M.A. (1577), and D.D. (1589). He served in a variety of positions including that of rector of Little Canfield (1580), archdeacon of Middlesex (1584), and, finally, bishopric of London, an appointment made in 1604 by King James I. He died of apoplexy on the 30th day of March in 1607. Although an inscription to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral was destroyed in 1666, his portrait still may be seen in the University galleries at Oxford. Although he is said to have had three sons and six daughters, we presently have knowledge of only one of his children, Elizabeth who married Thomas Mallory, dean of Chester, and who was mother of Thomas Mallory II.

Robert Vaughan (1592-1667)

The only son of Hywel Vychan ap Bruffyd ap Hywel and Margaret, second daughter of Edward Owen of Hengwrt, Robert matriculated at Oxford in December of 1612, he returned home without his degree and spent a good part of his life collecting Welsh manuscripts. Numbering in the hundreds, his collection has been preserved intact at Peniarth near Towyn.

Robert Vaughan (1795-1868)

Although his Welsh parents were said to have belonged to the "established church", Robert became a Congregationalist. Ordained by an independent church on Angel Street in Worcester, he accepted a call in March of 1825 to a church on Hornton Street in Kensington. He gained a reputation as an historical writer, having authored **Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe** and **Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty**. In 1834 he was appointed to the chair of history in University College, London.

He succeeded to the presidency of Lancashire Independent College where he published his inaugural discourse on **Protestant Nonconformity** and later founded **The British Quarterly**. He also performed editorial work for the Wyclif Society. However, in August of 1857 poor health led to his resignation of the presidency of Lancashire Independent College. He continued to write and lecture and, in 1867, he

had accepted a call to form a new church at Torquay when he suffered a stroke. He died on the 15th of June 1868 at Torquay where his remains are interred. He married Susanna Ryall of Melcombe Regis in Doreset in 1822 and they were said to have had "several children" although we have become aware of only two. Robert Alfred Vaughan [q.v.] was the eldest son. An unnamed eldest daughter married a Doctor Carl Buch, principal of the Government College at Bareilly, Upper India, who was murdered in 1857 at the outbreak of the Indian mutiny.

Celebrated throughout England for his lifelong support and advocacy of evangelical non-conformity, the portrait of Robert Vaughan is said to suggest a man of striking presence. "Stoughton describes 'the searching glance from under his knitted brow' and 'his lordly bearing,' which 'created expectations rarely disappointed.' He valued nonconformity as a bulwark of evangelical religion, and did real service to his denomination by extending its literary culture." [18] (CRICKHOWELL, p.176)

Robert Alfred Vaughan (1823-1857)

The eldest child of Robert Vaughan (1795-1868), Robert Alfred Vaughan was born at Worcester on 18 March 1823. Described as a seven-month baby, he never enjoyed robust health, but he did manage to graduate in 1842 at age nineteen from London University. Following in his father's footsteps as a religious scholar, he nevertheless reverted to catholicism and eclectic literarure. Although he was at one time engaged to be married, there is no record of a marriage or children.

Roger William Bede Vaughan (1834-1883)

This Catholic Archbishop of Sydney was born at Courtfield near Ross in Herfordshire on the ninth day of January in 1834. He is described in the Crickhowell source as "the younger brother of Cardinal Vaughan, being the second son of Colonel John Francis Vaughan of Courtfield, by his first wife, Elizabeth Louisa, daughter of John Rolls of the Hendre, Monmouthshire."

When he was six years of age he was sent to boarding school at Monmouth. In 1851 he entered the Benedictine College of St. Gregory at Downside near Bath where he took the vows in 1854. He was sent to Rome and later ordained priest by Cardinal Patrizi in 1859. Upon returning to England, he was first placed in charge of the mission at Downside and then in November of 1861 he was nominated to the professorship of metaphysics and moral philosophy at St. Michael's Priory at Belmont near Hereford. Characterized as an eloquent preacher, he also became widely regarded for his literary works which included two volumes devoted to The

Life and Labours of St.Thomas of Aquinas. There is no record of marriage or children.

Stephen Vaughan (-1549)

Born around 1490, little is known of the early years of Stephen Vaughan, although the Crickhowell biography suggests that he was probably educated at St. Paul's School in London where his father was a member of the Mercer's Company. Around 1520 he made the acquaintance of Thomas Cromwell for whom he later performed various services as a writer and merchant adventurer. In 1530 he became the agent of King Henry VIII in the Netherlands where his principal duty was to negotiate commercial loans. He became a valued friend of Cromwell, so valued in fact that Cromwell is said to have included him in his will. Although he sided with Tyndale and Latimer and spoke out against the king's 'persecution of reformers,' he escaped punishment and instead was appointed on 6 August 1534 'to the office of writing the king's books lately held by Thomas Hall, deceased,' with a salary of 20-l a year. In December of 1532 he was sent on a mission to Paris and Lyons, and he later became under-treasurer of the mint in London. In 1538 he was sent with Sir Edward Crane and Wriothesley to negotiate the intended marriage of Henry VIII with the Duchess of Milan. In 1547 he once again became M.P. for Lancaster. He died Christmas Day in 1549.

Twice married, Stephen Vaughan's first wife was Margery Gwynneth whose brother John later served as the executor of his estate. His second marriage was to Margery Brinclow, a marriage which took place in April of 1546 in Calais. His first wife produced two daughters and one son, Stephen II, who inherited his father's extensive real estate and who became the father of Sir Rowland Vaughan. We presently have no record of children by his second wife. Again, attention is invited to the Christian name 'Rowland' which appears on the Filby passenger lists.

Sir Thomas Vaughan (1413-1483)

The Crickhowell biographical source describes this Thomas Vaughan as "probably youngest illegitimate son of Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, son of Sir Roger Vaughan (d.1415), by an illegitimate daughter of Prior Coch (the redheaded) of the monastery of Abergavenny (Mayrick in Dwnn's **Heraldic Visitations of Wales.**)" The same source urges the reader to carefully distinguish him from the Thomas Vaughan of Hergst who was killed at Banbury in 1469, from the Sir Thomas Vaughan who was knighted for his action at Bosworth , and from a Thomas Vaughan who mas master of ordnance in 1450.

This Thomas Vaughan is described as "a great warrior in the War of the Roses, taking the Yorkist side." He is said to have fought eighteen battles for Edward IV who, upon

becoming king, made him a yeoman of the crown, a squire of the king's body, and treasurer of the king's chamber. The esteem in which King Edward IV held him is evident by his appointment of Thomas in 1471 as chamberlain and councillor to his son, the young Prince Edward. Knighted in 1475, Thomas was with the young prince at Ludlow when King Edward IV died. In the company of a retinue which included Rivers, Grey, and Haute, Thomas was met and taken captive by Richard and Buckingham at Stony Stratford while enroute to London. Tried and convicted of treasonous acts before the Earl of Northumberland, he was executed on 23 June 1483. He was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist at Westminster Abbey where a monument has been erected to his memory.

Married to Eleanor Arundel, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Arundel of Betchworth in Surrey, and widow of Sir Thomas Browne, under-treasurer of the household of Henry VI, they had a daughter, Anne who married Sir John Wogan, and a son Henry whose son, Sir Thomas, adopted the name of Parry.

Thomas Vaughan (1750-1820)

The son of an unnamed lawyer, Thomas first obtained a position as clerk to the commissioner of peace for the city of Westminster. In 1782, he became a captain of a company of Westminster volunteers. His interest in drama led to his writing of several essays on the Richmond Theatre. In 1776 a farce which he authored entitled **Love's Metamorphoses** was produced at Drury Lane. He pursued a lifelong career as a dramatist with mixed success.

Thomas Vaughan (1782-1843)

Born in Norwich, the father of this Thomas Vaughan died quite young and little else is known of him. Elected lay clerk of St. George's Chapel, the fine singing voice of young Thomas attracted the attention of George III and he was subsequently admitted as a gentleman of the Chapel where he began to perfect his talent. Celebrated as a singer with pure enunciation and intonation, he died at a friend's house near Birmingham on the ninth day of January 1843 and was buried in the west cloister of Westminster Abbey. Thomas and his wife, a soprano known as Miss Tenant of Drury Lane, separated after nine years of marriage. There is no record of any children.

Thomas Vaughan (1622-1666)
Henry Vaughan (1622-1695)

Although the Crickhowell source includes material on the lives of both Thomas and Henry Vaughan, the twin sons of Thomas Vaughan of Newton, we have chosen to devote separate chapters to each of them in this book.

Chapter Eight

Thomas Vaughan (1621-1666)

Thomas Vaughan Sr. (1586-1658), one of the three children of record born to William and Frances Somerset Vaughan, grew up at Tretower Court and Castle. When his eldest brother Charles succeeded to the ownership of Tretower, Thomas was left to find his own way as was the custom in those days following the adoption of primogeniture as the lawful principle of inheritance.

Upon the death of David Morgan on the 2nd of June 1598, the Morgan family home, "Newton at Scethrog", was deeded to David's only child, Denise, then a mere child. Some thirteen years later, in 1611, Thomas Vaughan, at age 25, became the second husband of Denise, then eighteen. Records of the day seem to indicate that Thomas and Denise moved into that home immediately after their wedding and they apparently remained there throughout their lives where they raised their family.

Twin sons, Henry and Thomas, were born to this couple in 1622. A manuscript in the collection of B. S. Sloane is given in some quarters as the authority for a specific birthdate for the twins - April 17, 1622 - but F. E. Hutchinson refutes this in his work on **HENRY VAUGHAN: A Life and Interpretation**. He chooses to offer no exact month or day. The Sloane manuscripts are said to include the personal diary of Thomas Vaughan and, thus, should provide reliable information. Earlier chroniclers of the lives of both Henry and Thomas suggest different dates, but all of the later research settled on the year 1622, and this indeed is the exact year deduced from the tombstone at the head of Henry Vaughan's grave in Llansantffraed Churchyard in the parrish of his birth. The date of Henry's death is given as April 23, 1695 at age 73 years.[1] (HUTCHINSON, p.14)

In addition to the twins, Henry and Thomas, there were at least two other children born to Thomas Vaughan and Denise Morgan Vaughan, the first a daughter who married William Parry, who was probably a member of the Parry family that purchased Tretower Court & Castle from the Vaughans a century and a half later, and a son, William, about whom little is known and who, according to Hutchinson, was probably born in 1628 and died in 1648.

Although most scholars are now more drawn to the life and writing of Henry Vaughan, it was Thomas who was in many ways more interesting. As Hutchinson suggests, "it is difficult to assess the value attached by his contemporaries to Thomas Vaughan's writings, but he was (in his lifetime) better known as a writer than his brother." For these and a number of other reasons which shall become apparent, we devote this chapter to Thomas, and our next chapter to Henry.

Newton is the name of the Morgan-Vaughan house itself. Until it was destroyed it was situated in the hamlet and manor of Scethrog in the parish of St. Bridgets, hundred of Pencelli, county of Brecon. A smaller cottage was later built some distance from the first home. The Welsh word for St. Bridgets is Llansantffraed. Trenewydd is the word for Newton in the Welsh language which the twins spoke, some said, as fluently as English.

Conflicting Stories About Thomas

While the Encyclopaedia Brittanica devotes a third of one page to Henry Vaughan, it has only this to say about his twin brother Thomas:

"Vaughan, Thomas (1622-66) British chemist and mystic, remembered for his contributions to mystical philosophy rather than as a man of letters, though his writing, once noted for its obscurity, has moments of visionary power recalling that of his twin brother, Henry."[2] (BRITTANICA, Micropaedia, Volume X, p.1168)

There is at least one story about Thomas which denies that he was a twin brother of Henry and, indeed, that particular version attempts to make of him a brother some ten years older, but this appears to be apocryphal if not totally fabricated as we shall see in this chapter of this exposition. Virtually all of the authorities who studied and wrote about Henry Vaughan agree that Thomas was his twin and, with the exception of the writer of the disputed story, everyone else seems to agree that these two descendants of Vaughan of Tretower were born in 1622 to Thomas and Denise Morgan Vaughan of Newton, manor of Scethrog (or Skethrog) in Llansantffraed Parrish, Breconshire.

Sir Edmund Chambers chose to believe that the names of the parents of Henry and Thomas Vaughan were Henry and Denise Morgan Vaughan, rather than Thomas and Denise. It should be noted, however, that even Chambers was aware that there were differences of opinion in this regard, stating in a footnote, "Both Wood and Foster give the father's name as Thomas but it appears to be Henry in all the pedigrees."[3] (CHAMBERS-2, Biographical Notes, p.xxxiv).

As we have stated earlier, Thomas Vaughan in many ways led a more interesting life than that of his better known twin brother Henry, particularly if consideration is given to the fanciful tale related in the late nineteenth century by Diana Vaughan who claimed in her writings to be "a great-grand-daughter of Thomas Vaughan's."[4] (DIANA)

The source to which we now refer is **Memoires d'une ex-Palladiste** a manuscript purportedly being prepared for publication by a Ms. Diana Vaughan in Paris ca. 1896. I shall attempt to summarize some of the more salient, even

sensational, of her utterances with regard to Thomas Vaughan and, in doing so, I rely mostly on the writing of her contemporary, Sir Edmund Chambers.[5] (CHAMBERS-2)

The reader is reminded that the notation immediately preceding this paragraph refers to **The Poems of Henry Vaughan, Silurist, Volume II**. The Muses' Library Edition of **Olor Iscanus**, the latter first published in 1650 and reissued in 1896 by Sir E. K. Chambers with an introduction by H. C. Beeching. The year of publication of Chamber's volumes was the same year in which Ms. Vaughan prepared her manuscript for publication; thus Chambers, Beeching, and Diana Vaughan were contemporaries. It is Chambers' Volume II which contains the copious notes concerning Ms. Vaughan's stories from which we derived most of our information about her writings.

Ms. Vaughan described herself as a former practitioner of the occult having been, by her own account, brought up as such and having been for some years "a leading spirit amongst certain androgynous lodges" in which various occult practices took place.[6] (CHAMBERS-2, Biographical Notes, p.xxxix)

At the time of her writings, she claimed "the direct interposition of Joan of Arc" had led her to become a Catholic and her mission thenceforth was to oppose occult practices in every way possible. In this regard, the reader should be reminded that the reference to the interposition of Joan of Arc is chimerical. Joan of Arc was born around 1412 and Diana Vaughan more than four hundred years later.

Sir Edmund Chambers, one of our principal sources of information, lived and wrote contemporaneously with Ms. Vaughan. He gave her claims little credence, although the space he devoted to her leads me to believe that he held her in some awe and wonder as to the source and true value of her utterances which are richly presented if not similarly embroidered. They are quite detailed to say the very least. In other words, it is my feeling that Chambers saw more than a grain of truth in her writing perhaps as they related to someone named Thomas Vaughan, but he refused to accord her much legitimacy with regard to her possible connection via Henry Vaughan's twin brother Thomas, particularly since Ms. Vaughan cast her Thomas Vaughan as ten years senior in age to his reputed twin brother Henry. I leave it to the reader to draw his or her own conclusions, but I shall offer a conjecture or two after Diana has had her say. Throughout this chapter, as I have earlier indicated, I rely for the most part on the prior research and writing of E. K. Chambers. At times when it seems appropriate I shall also contrast Chambers' findings with those of F. E. Hutchinson. Diana Vaughan was described by Chambers as "a lady who has created a considerable sensation in Paris."[7] (CHAMBERS-2, Biographical Notes, p.xxxix)

During the time of Chambers and this lady, it was widely believed that the undesirable cults had infiltrated certain Masonic Lodges. Ms. Vaughan who, as we have stated, claimed to be a great-grand-daughter of Thomas Vaughan, also described him as a Grand-master of the Rosicrucian order, and the founder of Modern Freemasonry, stating that he had been instrumental in the design of the rites of the fraternity. She claimed that her father and uncle, who were intimate friends of Albert Pike, related these matters concerning her Vaughans to her, presumably in personal confrontation.

By way of review, Freemasonry is one of the world's largest secret societies with an estimated 4 million members in the United States and one-fourth that number in the British isles where the American movement received its impetus. In addition to the lodges of Free and Accepted Masons, derived from the British order, American Masons sometimes join one or more of several organizations which, in reality, have no official standing in Freemasonry. Masons in Great Britain are forbidden to join any of these quasi-Masonic societies outside the mainbody of their lodges. Originating as a fraternity of the building crafts, modern or speculative masonry as we know it today dates from June 24, 1717 when four of the old lodges came together in London to form the Grand Lodge of England. Modern American Freemasonry is said to have been introduced in America around 1730, some sixty-four years after the death of Thomas Vaughan. This would not preclude the possibility that Thomas Vaughan or the Diana Vaughan version of his alter ego did indeed contribute to the design of the American version of the craft. Albert Pike, who is generally recognized as one of the leading lights of modern American Freemasonry, could well have consulted with Diana Vaughan's father and uncle. Only an examination of masonic literature can prove or refute a possible connection between these three people. Pike's **Morals and Dogma** deals with matters pertaining to the Degree of The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite and, to our knowledge, there are no personal references in his work concerning anyone who may have aided in the design of the degree.

Many writers, including Chambers, concluded that Ms. Vaughan's stories had serious flaws. Some of her supposed contemporaries even believed that Diana herself was a myth and that "her **Memoires** with the rest of the revelations are the ingenious concoction of a band of irresponsible journalists of whom Leo Taxil is the chief."
(CHAMBERS-2, Biographical Notes, p.xl).

In writing about Thomas Vaughan, F. E. Hutchinson chose to ignore the matter of Diana Vaughan and her allegations altogether. But, let us examine what he had to say about Thomas Vaughan and his dealings with the Rosicrucians and

the occult. Hutchinson devoted the eleventh chapter of Henry Vaughan: A Life and Interpretation to Thomas Vaughan and Occult Philosophy.[9] (Ibid.) Here is some of what he has to say about Thomas and these matters:

"His relation to the Fraternity of the Rosy Cross is ambiguous, as is characteristic of most contemporary allusions to that cryptic society. The Rosicrucians began to be heard of first in Germany about 1614; their manifestoes usually bore no names or addresses, and the members preserved their anonymity so deliberately that they provoked both curiosity and suspicion, and they were sometimes dubbed the Invisibles.

"They claimed to have secret and magical knowledge, especially in the transmutation of metals, the prolongation of life by an Elixir Vitae, and power over elements and elemental spirits."[10] (HUTCHINSON, pp. 141-155)

Although the origins of the Rosicrucian brotherhood are obscure, it is believed by some that a legendary Christian Rosenkreuz (1378-1484) was its founder in the early fifteenth century. Some say that the Swiss alchemist Paracelsus was its founder, while still others maintain that certain Rosicrucian doctrines were espoused by Plato and Jesus. There is, however, no reliable evidence for any of these beliefs. The Rosicrucian developments of the 16th and 17th century are widely regarded as revivals of earlier practices and doctrine.

Anthony Wood, in his Latin History of Oxford, referred to Thomas Vaughan's close friend, Sir Robert Moray (Chambers refers to him as Sir Robert Murray), as a patron of the Rosie Crucians.

Of Thomas Vaughan himself, he characterized him as "a great Chymist, a noted son of the fire, an experimental philosopher, a zealous brother of the Rosie-Crucian fraternity, an understander of some of the Oriental Languages, and a tolerable good English and Latin Poet."[11] (WOOD, **Athenae Oxonienses**, 1692, ii, p.253)

As Hutchinson points out, although Thomas Vaughan affirmed his belief that the Rosicrucians actually existed, he denied any personal "acquaintance" with them, but denial was expected of the members of this fraternity. However, Thomas Vaughan followed his early education at Oxford with further independent study and experimentation in alchemy and the occult. He was an acknowledged disciple of Cornelius Agrippa who was a fifteenth century alchemist, philosopher, and reputed magician. Not only did Thomas Vaughan's first book include a portrait of Agrippa and a poem dedicated to him, but he wrote at length about the Rosicrucians, using the pseudonym Eugenius Philalethes. The use of this sort of pen name appears to have been quite common, particularly by Oxonians, and confusion with this and other similar names has caused some difficulty over the years as various

researchers have attempted to identify particular people and sort out the truth.

In addition to Thomas Vaughan, at least one other writer of his time used the name Eugenius Philalethes. Further confusion resulted from efforts of some, including the aforementioned Diana Vaughan, to ascribe to Thomas Vaughan (Eugenius Philalethes) the writings of another contemporary who signed himself Eirenaeus Philalethes who, Chambers believes, may have been another alchemist of the time named George Starkey. But, let us return to the life of Thomas Vaughan as told to us by F. E. Hutchinson.

Hutchinson's research led him to believe that Henry Vaughan may not have matriculated at Oxford, at least in any formal way, although Thomas was admitted on the 4th day of May in 1638. Henry's correspondence in 1673 with his cousin, John Aubrey, affirms that Thomas remained at Oxford "for ten or twelve years," but he also states that he (Henry) did not stay at Oxford "to take any degree." Having said this, Hutchinson leaves us with no little doubt about these and other dates. "Up to their twentieth year," he says, "the twins were together at home, under Matthew Herbert at Llangattock Rectory, and at Oxford, until Henry left to study law in London." [12] (HUTCHINSON, p.141)

It is entirely possible that some confusion arises here because of the efforts of Henry or Thomas or both to cover up the circumstances surrounding the dismissal of Thomas as Rector of Llansantffraed in 1650. Biographical materials referred to as source materials in later chapters give 18 February 1642 as the date when Thomas Vaughan was graduated B.A. and made a fellow of Jesus College, Oxford. The same source acknowledges reasons for his dismissal from the living at St. Bridgets. In addition to accusations of personal misbehavior, he was at the same time accurately characterized as an adherent to the royal cause and an opponent of non-conformist rebels in southern Wales who resented his position on such matters, particulary with regard to the then-new and narrow interpretation of the Gospel as defined under the Puritan movement.

Thomas Vaughan was ordained minister by a Bishop Mainwaringe, according to brother Henry, and he was presented by his kinsman, Sir George Vaughan of Fallerstone (Fullerstone) in the County of Wiltshire to the Rectory of St. Bridgets (Llansantffraed). Although no year of the appointment was given by Henry, Theophilus Jones, an historian of Breconshire, gave 1640 as the probable year and the Crickhowell biography apparently accepts this date; Hutchinson, however, again takes exception to this, stating that Thomas would not have been of canonical age until 1645. Further, his predecessor, Andrew Watkins, served as Rector of Llansantffraed from 1631 until 1643, or possibly 1644.

Taking the latter as the earliest date of Thomas' appointment, it seems entirely likely that he may have served in a subordinate position as early as 1640, being advanced to the position of Rector in 1644. If this is indeed the case, he would have served in the latter position for six years, until his dismissal in 1650 for having continuously opposed a 1643 order of the Brecon County Committee for Sequestration. Let us examine what is known about the circumstances surrounding his eviction.

At the time of Thomas Vaughan's loss of his position as Rector of Llansantffread, it is important to bear in mind several factors which probably contributed to his eventual eviction:

Thomas' father, Thomas Sr., apparently had long opposed sequestration of tithes from his lands for the maintenance of "a Freeschoole" in the parish, which was a legal provision in the Will of John Powell, a former owner of those lands.

Hutchinson quotes from a chancery court finding thusly: "At an Inquisition held at Brecon on 14 June 1650 the five Commissioners received (findings) on oath of the jury and, after considering 'other Evidences and testimonies,' required Thomas Vaughan to render up possession of the property to certain new trustees chosen by the parishioners 'to be their feoffees and trustees,' and to pay the arrears for the fourteen years, amounting to 140 Pounds."[13] (HUTCHINSON, p.90)

Hutchinson points out that this finding occurred "at a time of bitter political and religious animosity, and the Commissioners included, besides Thomas Vaughan's fellow magistrates, a personal enemy in Jenkin Jones, the fiery Puritan leader."[14] (Ibid.) This latter point is the second one which begs consideration in attempting to judge the true nature of the lives of both of these Thomas Vaughans, namely, the Puritan movement of that time in Wales, and the Civil War in which many Welshmen opposed the Crown in support of the Parliamentarians. For the most part, the Tretower Vaughans stood resolutely on the side of the Crown, as one would expect from their long history of loyalty, dating back two full centuries to the time of Sir Roger Vaughan I and to his son, Sir Roger Vaughan II, the original Vaughan of Tretower. There were also divided loyalties with families sometimes split in their views, some siding with the Parliamentarians while opposing the Puritans.

Thomas Vaughan Sr. eventually paid the amounts in arrears to clear his property; however, John Aubrey once remarked that, although Thomas Sr. was his own cousin, he was "a coxcombe...he cosened me of 50s once."[15] (Ibid., p.91)

As we have stated, all of the foregoing should be borne in mind when attempting to assess the true nature of the

charges brought against Thomas Vaughan Jr., Rector of Llansantffraed.

Thomas Jr. was joined in his opposition to the demands of the Brecon County Committee for Sequestrations by his good friend, Thomas Powell of Cantref who was also advised by local committeemen that he would be denied his position if he continued to oppose their orders. On February 22, 1649/50, the 'Act for Better Propagation and Preaching the Gospel in Wales, Ejecting Ministers and Schoolmasters, and Redresse of Grievances' was passed, removing members of the clergy in Brecon who would not comply with previous demands for sequestration of tithes. The charges brought against Thomas Vaughan were of a serious, even demeaning nature, far more so than those brought against other Breconshire clergymen.

John Walker, in his **Sufferings of the Clergy**, disclosed that Thomas Vaughan was charged with being "a common drunkard, a common swearer, no preacher, a whoremaster, & in armes personally against the Parliament." [16] (HUTCHINSON, p.93)

While acknowledging that some of these charges may have had a basis in fact, Hutchinson implies that those who opposed Thomas Vaughan were zealous in the pursuit of his ouster from his position in the Llansantffraed Parrish Church for personal reasons having to do with his political loyalty to the Crown and his religious views.

"From the close of the first Civil War in 1646 the Puritan regime had established itself almost universally in south Wales and bore hardly on the uncompromisingly royalist families." [17] (Ibid., p.97)

In any event, Thomas Vaughan was evicted from the church in 1650 whereupon he returned to Oxford where he apparently then took up further studies of alchemy in earnest. According to Anthony Wood, Thomas "retired to Oxon, and in a sedate repose prosecuted his medicinal genie, (in a manner natural to him) and at length became eminent in the chymical part thereof at Oxon, and afterwards at London under the protection and patronage of that noted Chymist Sir Rob. Murrey or Moray Kt., Secretary of State for the Kingdom of Scotland." [18] (Ibid., p.141)

Hutchinson, however, tells us that Thomas did not continue at Oxford for very long but, rather, was in London by 1651 engaged in experimental work. On the 28th of September of that year, he married a woman named Rebecca who assisted him with his experiments. Rebecca died, probably in London, on the 17th day of April, 1658 , and was buried nine days later at Mappersall. There were no children of record born to them. Thomas survived her by seven and a half years, succumbing to accidental poisoning from mercury on the 27th of February, 1666.

Early editions of **Athenae Oxonienses** made no reference to the death of Thomas Vaughan, but the 1721 edition tells of his demise following accidental inhalation of mercury. The reader will want to contrast these versions with a more dramatic if problematical one told in the late nineteenth century by Diana Vaughan. While I shall relate this latter story in due course, the reader should be ever mindful that its authenticity is in great doubt and, in fact, the Thomas Vaughan who is the subject of the later story was probably an entirely different person, if indeed he existed at all. The authorship of these tales has already been alluded to and the reader forewarned of these matters.

F. E. Hutchinson relies on **The Works of Henry Vaughan**, edited by L. C. Martin and published in 1914, as his source for the date of the death of Henry's twin sibling. Hutchinson leaves us with some clues regarding the final days of Thomas Vaughan in the following excerpt from Martin: "In September of 1665 Charles II and his court removed to Oxford because of the plague, and remained there till the following January. Thomas Vaughan accompanied Moray (Sir Robert Moray or Murray) to Oxford and found lodging at the rectory of Albury of which Samuel Kem, a veritable Vicar of Bray, remained rector for forty years. Albury is near Rycote, separated from it by the river Thame (not The Thames), and is distant from Oxford by road about ten miles. Vaughan did not return to London when the court left Oxford, but died in Kem's house on 27 February 1665/6, and was buried in the church on 1 March at the expense of Sir Robert Moray, whom (Henry) Vaughan calls his brother's 'great friend.'" [19] (HUTCHINSON, p.144)

While Hutchinson has nothing of a derogatory nature to say about Kem, Chambers stated that a "Mr. Gordon Goodwin points out to me that Dr. Samuel Kem was a somewhat notorious character." [20] (CHAMBERS-2, Biographical Notes, p.xxxvi)

Chambers agrees with Hutchinson with regard to the marriage of Thomas Vaughan to Rebecca on the 28th of September 1651. For a time, he lived with her and someone to whom he refers as "Sister Vaughan" at the Pinner of Wakefield, possibly an inn of that name, while he studied alchemy. Rebecca, Chambers says, died on Saturday, 17 April 1658, and was buried at Mappersall in Bedfordshire.

There is much more of record to be said about Thomas Vaughan than that which we have related here. For one thing, as has previously been acknowledged, he was during his lifetime more highly regarded as a writer than his sibling, Henry. As we have attempted to emphasize throughout this chapter, the story which follows should in no wise be regarded as factual.

The attention given it by Chambers in his two volumes in 1896, more than two hundred years following the life and

times of Thomas Vaughan, was perhaps justified in much the same way we hope to defend our attraction to these matters almost a hundred years later.

A Fanciful Tale of Doubtful Authenticity

As we have seen, Diana Vaughan described herself as the great-granddaughter of Thomas Vaughan, Henry's twin. Of the doubtful aspects of her story, we begin with this as one of the more glaring. If Ms. Vaughan is telling a true story about a real Thomas Vaughan and if her birthdates are accurate, then her Thomas is not our Thomas. Other parts of her story, however, contain fragments of fact that lead one to believe that she at least had more than a passing acquaintance with the life of our Thomas. As we proceed to relate her story, the reader is reminded of what Chambers told us. ie: the whole affair, including Ms. Diana Vaughan herself, could have been "the product of the vivid imaginations of a band of irresponsible journalists of whom Leo Taxil is the chief." [21] (CHAMBERS-2, p.xl) We relate parts of Ms. Vaughan's stories here for at least one principal reason which should become clear as we proceed.

Diana Vaughan said that the traditional accounts of Thomas Vaughan's life contain serious errors. She takes exception to the dates of his birth and death and to the pseudonym which he chose to use in his writings. She said he was born in Monmouth in 1612, not at Newton near Scethrog in 1622. She also challenges the birthdate of his brother Henry, stating that they were not twins, but rather that Henry was born two years later. She agrees that both studied at Oxford, having been taken there for schooling by their uncle, Robert Vaughan the antiquarry, following their father's death. Chambers, however, points out that this Robert Vaughan was not one of the Tretower Vaughans, that he was unrelated to the Vaughans of Tretower and Newton, and that the father of Henry and Thomas Vaughan did not die until 1658, much too late to satisfy the dates of the matriculation of the twins at Jesus College, Oxford. [22] (Ibid., p.xliii)

To continue with the Diana Vaughan saga, she maintained that Thomas Vaughan went to London in 1636 at age 24 (tradition says our Thomas would have been only 14 years of age at that time) and became the disciple of Robert Fludd, a Rosicrucian. Founded by Faustus Socinus in 1597, the Rosicrucians were, she said, Luciferians who warred against Adonai, god of the Catholics. Thomas Vaughan, according to his avowed great-granddaughter, served as the fifth head of this organization from 1654 through 1678. Since the Rosicrucians were and presumably continue to be cloaked in much secrecy, this author claims no ready way to confirm or deny these or any other purported facts concerning them and

Thomas Vaughan, either the twin brother of Henry or any other Thomas Vaughan of English or Welsh origin. It would be well to keep in mind the claims of Diana that this Thomas was the brother of Henry, but that he was not a twin, that he was born at Monmouth, not Newton, and that he was some ten years older.

Robert Fludd is said to have predicted for Thomas Vaughan "a miraculous future" and, after Fludd's death in 1637, the Thomas Vaughan of Diana's story undertook his first visit to America the following year in 1638. Probably passing himself as a Nonconformist, he presented himself as a Christian minister. During the summer of 1639 he was in London, later visiting Denmark where he described a mysterious golden horn at Tondern. The following year, he was initiated into the Rosie Cross, choosing for himself the pseudonym of Eirenaeus Philalethes (not Eugenious Philalethes).

It should be noted that Ms. Vaughan ascribes to her Thomas Vaughan certain writings under both of these names, including **Anthroposophia Theomagica**. This latter work, which was written under the name Eugenious Philalethes, is quite universally acknowledged to be that of Thomas Vaughan, twin brother of Henry. There are no references in any of the writings of anyone other than Ms. Diana Vaughan to the use of the former pseudonym by the same Thomas Vaughan of Newton.

In responding to a request from Anthony Wood in 1673, Henry Vaughan provided a list of the chemical and mystical tracts written by his brother, and all of them bear the name of Eugenius Philalethes with the one exception of **Aula Lucis** which Thomas penned in 1652 and, unaccountably, signed "S.N.". Anthony Wood himself made a clear distinction between Thomas Vaughan and another unnamed writer who used the same pseudonym (Eugenius Philalethes) in writing something titled **A Brief Natural History**.

Two other contemporary writers who used similar pen names were one Eirenaeus Philalethes, author of **Ripley Redivivus** which was ascribed to Thomas Vaughan by Diana Vaughan, and Eirenaeus Philoponos Philalethes, author of **The Marrow of Alchemy**.

The known works of Thomas Vaughan - Eugenius Philalethes - include **Anthroposophia Theomagica** (1650); **Anima Magica Abscondita** (1650); **Magia Adamica** and **Coelum Terrae** (1650); **The Man-Mouse taken in a Trap** (1650); **The Second Wash or The Mour scoured once More** (1651); both polemics against his peer, essayist Henry More; **Lumen de Lumine** and **Aphorismi Magici Eugeniani** (1651); **The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R.C.** (1652); **Aula Lucis** (1652); **Euphrates** (1655); and **Nollius' Chymist's Key** (1657).[23]

[23] (CHAMBERS-2, Biographical Notes, p.xxxv)

Chambers attributed this list to that supplied by a Dr. Grossart. Of particular interest is the treatise concerning

The Fame and Confession of the Fraternity of R.C.; however, because of the great shroud of secrecy that seems to surround this society, it is doubtful that much light would be shed by it on the truth, if any, that may be found in the writings and claims of Diana Vaughan. We return now to her account.

The comings and goings of Thomas Vaughan upon the face of the earth were numerous during the period from 1640 until the middle of that decade, according to Ms. Vaughan. When in England, he divided his time between Oxford and London. He visited Hamburg, the Netherlands, Italy and Sweden. It was during these travels that he "determined to capture the vast organization of craft masonry", presumably by injecting certain ritualistic practices he espoused.[24] (Ibid., p.xliv)

Ms. Vaughan's legend has it that Thomas wished to further the cause of the Rosicrucians in the manner just described, and that he was aided in this task by one Elias Ashmole who, according to her, helped him design the three degrees of Freemasonry. The Ashmole Museum, one of four museums at Oxford and the oldest public museum of art, archaeology, and natural history in Great Britain, was established to house collections donated to Oxford University by Elias Ashmole in 1675.

Oliver Cromwell was also said to be a freemason, a Rosicrucian, and a friend of Thomas Vaughan's. Although they were contemporaries and probably knew each other at Oxford, it seems highly unlikely that Cromwell, a staunch advocate of the Puritan movement, would find an ally in Thomas Vaughan, the poet's twin brother, who was divested of his church by a coalition of Welshmen who had supported the Puritan movement which Vaughan had opposed.

Having said this, it should be remembered that Cromwell was a great conciliator who managed to bring many people of divergent religious views together, and he could indeed have influenced Vaughan. Stranger things have occurred. Cromwell and Henry Vaughan both left Oxford at about the same time to take up the study of law in London.

If Ms. Vaughan's story is true with regard to this particular, then Thomas Vaughan would have had in his friend Cromwell an enormous source of power for whatever ideas and projects he might wish to carry out. Oliver Cromwell became the Lord Protector of England on July 4, 1653. Although he lived for just five more years, during that time he succeeded in uniting Ireland, Scotland, and England, gave representation to each of them in Parliament, restored confidence in the churches and universities by placing competent people in charge, made peace with Holland and France, and generally restored the dignity of England as the head of Protestant Europe. He died at Whitehall on September 3, 1658. These dates fit in with the comings and goings of

Thomas Vaughan during this same period, although Vaughan survived Cromwell by some eight years.

According to Diana Vaughan, following his induction into the highest levels of membership in the Rosie Cross, Thomas Vaughan was consecrated as Magus and named the next Summus Magister of the Fraternity. In this apochryphal story, he signed a pact "granting him thirty-three years more life, at the end of which he should be borne away from earth without death." In 1645, he is said to have written a treatise entitled **Introitus Apertus ad Occlusum Regis Palatium**, but Diana's reference to this work is the only one available to Chambers or to us.[25]

[25] (Ibid., p.xiv)

In that same year, while under a spell, Thomas is said to have gone once more to America where he met the apothecary George Starkey and, in his presence, he was said to have performed the ultimate alchemical feat of turning base metal into gold. And now we come to what is, to us, perhaps the most remarkable part of Ms. Vaughan's story. We quote from Chambers:

Diana Vaughan says that while Thomas was in America, "he lived amongst the Lenni-Lennaps, where he was united to the demon Venus-Astarte in the form of a beautiful woman, who after eleven days bore him a daughter." This girl, according to Ms. Vaughan, was brought up among the Lenni-Lennaps under the name of Diana Wulisso-Waghan. She later became Miss Diana Vaughan's great-great-grandmother.

Lenni Lenape is the name used by the Delaware, a confederacy of Algonkian-speaking Indians who lived along the eastern seaboard during the time of Thomas Vaughan. In the early 1600s there were probably as many as thirty or more self-contained commmunities situated along the Delaware River Valley from Cape Henlopen to western Long Island. These were the Indians who were most friendly to William Penn. Forced westward when these lands were taken from them, the Delaware went into Ohio territory until 1795 when the Treaty of Greenville took these lands from them also. From there they dispersed into Kansas and Oklahoma and even into Wisconsin and Ontario. In 1970 there were probably fewer than two thousand Delaware who could be identified. Thomas Vaughan, or anyone else traveling through these parts, could indeed have encountered these people along our eastern seaboard in or around 1640.

In 1648, Ms. Vaughan says, Thomas Vaughan returned to England and began the publication of a series of alchemical writings. In 1650 appeared **Anthroposophia Theomagica** and the **Magia Adamica**; in 1651 the **Lumen de Lumine**; in 1652 the **Aula Lucis**. In 1654 Valentin Andreae died, and Vaughan succeeded him as Summus Magister of the Rosie Cross, the event being announced to him by the homage of three demons, Leviathan, Cereberus, and Belphegor.

In 1655 he published his **Euphrates**, and in 1656 made his headquarters at Amsterdam or Eirenaeopolis. In 1659 came his **Fraternity of R.C.** and in 1664 his **Medulla Alchymiae**. In 1666 he exhibited the philosopher's stone to Helvetius at La Haye and converted him to occultism. In 1667 he at last resolved to publish his Opus Magnum, the **Introitus Apertus**, already written in 1645. In 1668 this was followed by the **Experimenta de Praeparatione Mercurii Sophici** and the **Tractatus Tres**.[26] (Ibid., pp.xiv-xv)

The time was now approaching when Vaughan, in fulfilment of the pact of 1644, must disappear from earth. He named Charles Blount as his successor, and was granted a magical vision of his grandson, the child of Diana Wulisso-Waghan and a Lenni-Lennap.

According to Ms. Vaughan, he then "finished his **Memoirs**, published his **Ripley Revived** and the **Enarratio Methodica trium Gebri Medicinarum**, left his poems to his brother Henry who published them in the next year as the **Thalia Rediviva** and, on March 25, 1678, disappeared in the company of Lucifer Dieu-Bon himself."[27] (Ibid.)

This latter event is said to have been vouched for in a written statement by Henry Vaughan and is further affirmed "by the existence in a masonic triangle at Valetta of a magical talisman into which, when properly evoked, the spirit of Philalethes enters and records his glorious end for the edification of the Luciferians present." Miss Vaughan herself said that she had witnessed this latter event in which she was in the presence of Lucifer and the spirit of Philalethes who appeared and conversed with her.

Chambers states in his biographical footnotes that Miss Vaughan referred to, but did not offer for inspection, "several family documents," including the Will of her grandfather James (of Boston) in which proof of his descent is presented; the autobiographical Memoirs of Philalethes, the source of much of Miss Vaughan's quotations; certain Masonic rituals; and Henry's "account of his brother's disappearance in the archives of the Supreme Dogmatic Director of Charleston."[28] (Ibid., p.xlvii)

To conclude this fantasy - and that is what it appears to be - we see no reason to disagree with Chambers in his assertion that "the nature of the Luciferian tradition of Thomas Vaughan is pretty clearly shown by the fact that it is not corroborated in a single particular by any of the new facts about him that have come to light since this probable date of its composition." Furthermore, if Diana Vaughan really existed and was not the creation of the story's fabricators, Chambers did not believe that she personally invented the legend. Instead, he ascribed it possibly to "Leo Taxil and his friends in 1895, and the alleged founders of Palladism in or about 1870, that is Albert Pike and Miss Vaughan's father and uncle."[29] (Ibid., p.xlix,l)

Further efforts to discover the true identity of the real person who wrote under the pseudonym Eirenaeus Philalethes will probably be as fruitless as those of Chambers. The entire matter may remain one of the great mysteries of all time. George Starkey and the aforementioned Leo Taxil are both on Chamber's list of possible culprits. Even here there were areas of disagreement among those who attempted to deal with these matters during the last century. Miss Vaughan was said to have relied on Lenglet-Dufresnoy's **Histoire de la Philosophie Hermetique** as her authority concerning the relations of Starkey and Eirenaeus Philalethes who, of course, she said was Thomas Vaughan.

Chambers points out that the title page to **The Marrow of Alchemy** bears the name Eirenaeus Philoponus Philalethes, rather than Eirenaeus Philalethes but Chambers indicates a rather strong predisposition to believe that Starkey may have indeed been one of the miscreants if not the principal perpetrator of a monumental hoax, even to the extent of appropriating the writings of others and ascribing their authorship to himself and even to third parties.

Despite all of the foregoing, the designer of the title page for Henry Vaughan's **Olor Iscanus**, was the same Robert Vaughan who also engraved the title page for **Ripley Revived**. Furthermore, Starkey's **Marrow of Alchemy** contains some lines alluding to the controversy which raged between Henry More and Thomas Vaughan, giving us even more irony with which to ponder.

We now reach the point in this exposition wherein we must admit, like Chambers, we have probably devoted far too much time and attention to the writings ascribed to Diana Vaughan. If she existed at all, she herself is often in error, even in matters related to her own family ancestry. In one instance, she claimed to be "a great-grand-daughter of Thomas Vaughan's." In yet another she said that the daughter who was born to Venus-Astarte and Thomas Vaughan was brought up among the Lenni-Lennaps under the name of Diana Wulisso-Waghan, became her great-great-grandmother.[30] (DIANA)

The error here could be either hers or Chambers' in his translations but, in either case, if the first assertion is true and Thomas Vaughan was her great-grandfather, then Diana Wulisso-Waghan would have been her grandmother. But this does not seem to line up genealogically, either with what we are told about her father or the dates of her birth.

You may recall that Chambers states in his biographical footnotes that Miss Vaughan referred to, but did not offer for inspection, "several family documents," including the Will of her grandfather James in which proof of his descent is presented; the autobiographical Memoirs of Philalethes, the source of many of Miss Vaughan's quotations; certain Masonic rituals; and Henry's "account of his brother's

disappearance in the archives of the Supreme Dogmatic Director of Charleston."[31] (CHAMBERS, Biographical Notes, p.xivii)

If this affirmation holds, then we obviously have a conflict about Miss Vaughan's grandparents since she refers to her grandfather James who would thus be placed in the same generation as a grandmother Diana Wulisso-Waghan. Again, it remains for some genealogically adept researcher to unravel this if it is ever to be factually sorted out and made certain.

The Crickhowell biographical materials reach some confident conclusions about Diana Vaughan's writings, stating, "Vaughan must be carefully distinguished from the mystical writer who assumed the pseudonym of Eierenaeus Philalethes, a list of whose works is given at the end of the notice of George Starkey [q.v.] (cf. Sloane MS. 646, ff. 1-5). Vaughan's identity with this strange person has been pressed by an alleged descendant, calling herself Diana Vaughan..."[32] (CRICKHOWELL, p.182)

Following our examination of this matter, primarily through the writings of Chambers and Hutchinson, we are inclined to agree with this assessment of the nature of these stories concerning Eierenaeus Philalethes and a possible similitude to Eugenius Philalethes or our Thomas Vaughan, twin brother of Henry Vaughan, The Silurist, of Newton. However, there are some interesting similarities which suggest all sorts of possibilities. We shall attempt to explore some of these in our concluding chapter.

Chapter Nine

Henry Vaughan (1621-1695)

As I have indicated in earlier portions of this book, I first heard of a Welsh kinsman who was "a published poet" from my grandfather, Anthony Wayne Vaughan, who had a deep interest in and some knowledge of our Welsh forebearers. The information he possessed concerning our Welsh ancestry had been handed down to him by word of mouth from his great-grandfather, William, by way of his father, James, and his grandfather, Thomas, who in all probability heard the stories of the old family place at Tretower directly from William, the young Welsh adventurer who was already in America in 1783 when Charles, the last resident Vaughan of Tretower sold the estate to the Parry family. In the year of that sale, Thomas would have been ten years of age, and his father around 33.

As we restate our premise in this chapter, I should set the record straight and immediately note that my Granddad may or may not have referred to the "published poet" as Henry Vaughan; he may have spoken of him simply as a member of our Welsh family who was a "published poet." If he did refer to him by his Christian name, it is not something that I recall. The fact that our ancestor was a published poet and an acknowledged member of our family in Wales, of this I have no doubts. Years later, upon my discovery that Henry Vaughan - the Henry Vaughan - was indeed a member of the family of Tretower Vaughans, the circumstances of his life and writing were peculiar to those of the poet about whom my grandfather had told me.

You will recall that Benjamin Vaughan gave a deposition concerning his grandmother Fereby's Indian blood. It would have been most helpful if he or other descendants of William and Fereby had left some stories - word-of-mouth or otherwise - concerning the background of their grandfather. However, the fact that he and other grandsons apparently left no such verbal record need not deter us.

Instead, let us count ourselves fortunate to have at least these slender threads to go on. Although we presently have no written evidence of our connection with Vaughans of Tretower, this writer's memory of his grandfather's stories is sufficiently clear to warrant the assertions that have been made here concerning these matters. Virtually identical stories were told independently to the two branches of our family in northwest Arkansas and western Virginia concerning the Vaughan place in southern Wales "not more than 30 or 40 miles north of Cardiff." There, we were told, our Vaughans served the Crown by "guarding a castle." I well recall this story and how unlikely it seemed to me at the time. One of our early Vaughan ancestors had been beheaded by the Tudors for "siding with the Yorkists." My grandfather used almost these exact words.

And, then, there was the story about our kinsman, the published Welsh poet. All of these matters fit one Welsh family, and only one Welsh family - Vaughans of Tretower. It would be a most grievous error to dismiss all of this as mere happenstance or conjecture. One should simply bear in mind that we are dealing with oral family history. Indeed we may never substantiate much of William Vaughan's early family record with hard evidence of the kind preferred by genealogists. Rejoice then and be glad with what we do have.

Our ancestor William either brought these stories with him from Wales or they were told to him by his father who presently remains unknown to us. Whether or not William and his father were born at Tretower is another mystery. It is entirely possible that their Tretower progenitor was one of the many presently unnamed sons of Tretower who were forced to leave the nest much earlier, perhaps even as early as the time of Henry and Thomas Vaughan.

The discovery that the poet Henry Vaughan was a Vaughan of Tretower was to me the lynchpin in this mystery, the final clue that caused me to state with a high degree of confidence that our William has to be a descendant of Vaughans of Tretower. William Vaughan may have been several generations removed from that ancestral place, and we may never know much if anything about his immediate family and the circumstances of his arrival (or birth) in this country, but I shall always remain convinced our William Vaughan is a Vaughan of Tretower. Because of his fame as a writer of sacred verse, a great deal is known about Henry Vaughan, and that knowledge illuminates the lives of other members of the family. For these and other equally valid reasons, I have chosen to devote this chapter to our Welsh kinsman, Henry Vaughan, The Silurist.

The Public Image

In discussing the life and times of Henry Vaughan, we begin with the rather extensive biographical material devoted to him in the most recent edition of **Encyclopaedia Brittanica** since, for a great many people, this is the principal source of their knowledge of this particular member of the Vaughan family. The following are excerpts:

"Vaughan, Henry (b.1621?, Llansantffraed, Breconshire, Wales- d.April 23, 1695, Llansantffraed), poet and mystic remarkable for the range and intensity of his spiritual intuitions. He attended Oxford and went to London to study law but was summoned home in 1642 on the outbreak of the Civil War."

The Brittanica sketch provides us with the names of some of Henry's more widely read secular and religious poems and notes that in his later years he turned almost exclusively to the writing of the latter, repudiating, in his own words, "all idle verse." Historian Anthony Wood characterised Henry Vaughan as "esteemed by scholars an ingenious person but proud and humorous." Although he was a student of other writers, particularly George Herbert, he is described as "one of the most original poets of his day."

The Brittanica Micropaedia states, "His chief asset was a gift of spiritual vision or imagination that enabled him to write of immaterial things more freshly and convincingly than most of his contemporaries except Milton." The sketch includes several accolades for his technical accomplishments and concludes with the comment that his poetry went largely unnoticed for over a hundred years after his death.[1] (BRITTANICA, Micropaedia, Volume X, p. 371)

After referring to him as one of the chief religious writers of his day, the tenth volume of Brittanica's Macropaedia has this further reference to Henry Vaughan: "Vaughan, a Christian Neoplatonist who, but for intimations of God in nature, felt an exile on earth and longed for eternity, was a poet of contemplative vision."[2] (BRITTANICA, Macropaedia, Volume 10, p.1149)

The Twins: Their Parents and Their Childhood

Before turning our attention to E. K. Chambers and F. E. Hutchinson, our two principle sources on the life of Henry Vaughan, let us examine the material devoted to his life in the Crickhowell biographies.

The Sloane manuscripts of 1741 are cited as source material for the birth date of Henry Vaughan. "He and his twin brother Thomas [q.v.] were born 17 April 1622.

"Their father, Thomas Vaughan (d. August 1658), was the representative of an ancient and honourable Welsh family, the Vaughans of Tretower Castle, descended from Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine, who had fallen at Agincourt. Vaughan's mother was Denys Gwillims, heiress of Newton."[3] (CRICKHOWELL, p.164)

While the father was descended from a family generally characterized as "ancient and honorable," he himself was regarded as something of a scoundrel. When John Aubrey was asked to comment about the twins who were his cousins, he wrote somewhat disparagingly about the father's character. When Aubrey asked his cousin to provide factual material about himself, Henry replied on 15 June 1673, "My brother and I were borne att Newton in the parish of St. Brigets in the yeare 1621."[5] (HUTCHINSON, p.14) Although the Sloane manuscript gives 1622 as the year of birth, it should be noted that this is most likely in error since most authorities give 1621 as the proper year.

As we have seen in the preceding chapter Thomas, the father, was born at Tretower at the close of the fifteenth century. His parents were William Vaughan, sixth in descent from Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine, and Frances Somerset Vaughan, daughter of Thomas Somerset. The eldest son, Charles, inherited Tretower, and Thomas, upon his marriage to Denise Morgan, moved into the home of his wife at Newton. William and Frances had a younger daughter, Margaret, who married John Walbeoffe. It is possible that there were other children.

The first child born to Thomas and Denise was a daughter who later married William Parry. Following the birth of the twins came William who died in 1648 while still quite young.

Henry Vaughan's ancestry is well documented from the line of Vaughans of Bredwardine and Tretower as is that of his paternal grandmother, Frances Somerset, a descendant of the Somersets of Raglan Castle who, along with the Herberts, were among the most powerful families in south Wales throughout much of the seventeenth century.[6] (HUTCHINSON, p.6)

Although Henry Vaughan remained loyal throughout his lifetime to the Church of England, many of his relatives were recusants, including his grandfather William who was imprisoned for a period of twenty-four years in the Tower of London for his adherence to the old Roman Catholic faith. The word recusant in its adjectival form means obstinate in refusing to comply or to submit to authority. In this instance the word is used as a noun in the sense that anyone branded a recusant is a person who refuses to deny his Roman Catholic faith and submit to the official faith of the crown as embodied in and practiced by the Church of England. Henry's grandfather William paid the heavy price of a long term of imprisonment for being a recusant. He died on the twelfth of June in 1617 a few years after his release from the Tower, but prior to the birth of his twin grandsons. His wife, Frances, lived long enough to know her twin grandchildren, Henry and Thomas.

The family home, Newton at Scethrog, was bequeathed to Denise Morgan by her father, David Morgan of Llansantffraed. In 1608, at age fifteen, she married Thomas Jenkin who died two years later. In 1611, Denise married Thomas Vaughan, who was some seven years her senior. The estate in the hamlet and manor of Scethrog in the parish of Llansantffraed, hundred of Pencelli, county of Brecon, thereafter served as the couple's lifelong home. Although Thomas Vaughan Sr. had been born at Tretower, there is no mention of that place in any of Henry Vaughan's later writings despite the fact that it lay but a scant six miles from his boyhood home at Newton.

Thomas and Denise Morgan Vaughan had been married almost ten years when the twins were born, although there had been an older daughter and possibly others who died in infancy.

Their home and grounds were modest, although probably representative of many in south Wales. Thomas had been born into a fairly affluent family at Tretower but, with his elder brother Charles destined to succeed to that property, he moved with his wife to her home. Upon the death of the elder Thomas in 1658, an inventory of his estate is revealing as to the extent of the family's wealth. The real estate consisted of the property that had been bequeathed to the couple by Denise's father, a mere thirty-five acres, six of which was in pasture for sheep. Thomas apparently did not add much to the estate although E. K. Chambers alludes to a farm of about 200 acres. The household inventory lists such things as 9 pewter dishes, 7 pewter spoons, 3 pewter flagons, 1 pewter candlestick, a churning tub, and other such items as would have been found in many such houses of south Wales at the time.

The house itself was apparently sufficiently large to accomodate the family, having adequate bedrooms, a study, a large chamber above the kitchen, and other such rooms. Although the original house no longer stands, there is a farmhouse called Newton situated to the right of the main road between Llansantffraed Church and Scethrog as one goes toward Brecon.

Miss Gwenllian Morgan, a devotee of the poet, maintained that the original Newton was torn down around 1836 and the present house reconstructed from the original stones but in diminished size upon the same site. Authorities seem to agree that the rough beams and stones are from the original structure, but they also are in agreement that the present house is much smaller than the original. As Hutchinson states, "Thomas Vaughan's condition seems to have been typical of the smaller gentry in Wales."[7] (HUTCHINSON, p.20)

The young Vaughans grew up within a stone's throw of the River Usk, a stream loved by both boys and celebrated in much of Henry's early poetry as in these two lines from **The Waterfall**:

> Dear Stream! dear bank, where often I
> Have sate, and pleas'd my pensive eye.

On more than one occasion, John Aubrey and Anthony Wood referred to Henry Vaughan as Olor Iscanus, the Swan of Usk, a name used as the title of one of the collections of Henry's poetry, although Henry preferred to be known as The Silurist.

The twins were fortunate to have been born in the beautiful Usk River Valley within sight of the Brecon Beacons, and both boys acknowledged as much in their poetry and prose, a practice probably encouraged and developed under the careful and watchful tutelage of their mentor, Matthew Herbert. An affluent Welsh parson, Herbert served as rector of Llangattock with two attached chapels, and as rector of Llanfihangel-Cefnllys, a combination yielding him

the then-considerable sum of 400 pounds-sterling per annum. In addition to his pastoral duties, Herbert taught a limited number of pupils at his rectory at Llangattock which sat high atop a hill across the River Usk from Crickhowell, a distance of some nine miles from Llansantffraed. Both young men had the good fortune to fall under the care and counsel of Herbert for about six years, from 1632 until they entered Jesus College at Oxford in 1638. Their debt to their mentor is acknowledged and celebrated in verse by both boys. In one autobiographical poem, **Ad Posteros**, Henry wrote,

> ...I went
> To learned Herbert's encouragement,
> Herbert, the pride of our Latinity;
> Six years with double gifts he guided me.
> Method and love, and mind and hand conspired,
> Nor ever flagged his mind, nor his hand tired.
> This was my shaping season.

Thomas addressed two Latin poems to Herbert, and wrote a dedicatory preface to his **The Man-Mouse taken in a Trap**: "To my Learned and much Respected friend, Mr. Matthew Harbert (sic)." This latter piece was one of several written by him during an on-going literary tussle with fellow Oxonian Henry More.

Thomas and his brother Henry, as we mentioned in the preceding chapter, were naturally bi-lingual, speaking both English and Welsh at home since their father spoke the King's English as a magistrate and their mother was known to have spoken Welsh. Herbert's tutelage added Latin to their linguistic repertoire. Thomas is also known to have become sufficiently fluent in German to undertake the difficult business of rendering accurate translations from that language into English.

Although Thomas Vaughan's matriculation at Jesus College on 14 December 1638 is a matter of record, there is no such record of the admission of Henry. However, in replying to a query from Anthony Wood who was then engaged in the preparation of his history of the writers and bishops educated at Oxford, Henry stated that he was pleased to have himself and his brother included. Henry did acknowledge to his cousin John Aubrey that while Thomas remained to study at Oxford for ten or 12 years, "I stayed not att Oxford to take any degree." However, Henry considered himself to be an Oxford man and, as Hutchinson points out, "the extant lists are defective, as Anthony Wood often complains."[8] (HUTCHINSON, pp.30-31)

The references by Anthony Wood to the works of both Henry Vaughan and Thomas Vaughan are numerous in Hutchinson's book, although the greater measure of Wood's attention was given over to Thomas. Again this is more than understandable in that the record for Thomas is intact for all of his four undergraduate years at Oxford; and, although the Buttery Books for the years 1638 to 1642 list six Vaughans,

including Thomas, Henry's name is not among them. There are, however, numerous traces of his having been there as, for example, an English poem commemorating the safe return of Charles I from Scotland, dated 25 November 1641 and signed "H. Vaughan, Ies., Col." Wood also makes a great many references to both Thomas and Henry Vaughan of Jesus College, Oxford, and the inference is clear that Henry was an Oxonian although he may not have resided "on campus" as did Thomas.[9] (HUTCHINSON, p.34)

According to Anthony Wood, Henry Vaughan spent no more than two years at Oxford before his father sent him to London to study law. Upon the assumption that he entered Oxford at the same time as did Thomas in 1638, he would have gone on to London in 1640 where he apparently remained until his father called him home upon the outbreak of the Civil War in August of 1642.

Both Henry and his contemporary at Oxford, Oliver Cromwell, withdrew from the university to study law at about the same time and probably for the same reasons. As Hutchinson reasons, fathers of their time wished to equip their sons with "a general knowledge of law" in order that they might better deal with the litigious society of that day. In any event, Henry Vaughan probably returned to his family home at Newton in 1642 following two years of undergraduate work at Oxford and two years of study of general law in London.

We are made aware of the talented and mystical qualities of the mind of the Silurist through his later poems, but the congenial nature of Henry Vaughan, which is not always so easily discerned, is also evident in some of his early writings during his young days in London. One may see a quite vivid picture of this aspect of his personality in an early love-poem to Amoret:

> Drink deep; this Cup be pregnant; & the wine
> Spirit of wit, to make us all divine,
> That big with Sack and mirth we may retyre
> Possessours of more soules, and nobler fire.

Hutchinson repeats this and other early poems, including humourous reminiscences of the London days, but he quickly points out that young Henry soon, and willingly, left all this behind to return to his beloved Usk River Valley in his native southern Wales.

Henry's Return to South Wales

Upon his return to south Wales, Henry signed on as a clerk to Judge Marmaduke Lloyd, but his service to this Chief Justice of the Great Sessions Court of three southern shires was short-lived. In December of 1645 Lloyd, a staunch royalist, was taken prisoner at the siege of Hereford and relieved of his juridical duties. Henry, still quite young, apparently devoted himself to writing love poems in earnest.

Many of his early poems bear the dates 1642-1644, and virtually all of these are addressed to Amoret as was the fashion for young poets of the day when expressing endearing thoughts for a lady love. Spenser, Browne, Lodge and other contemporaries also followed this practice.

By the time his first thin volume of poetry was published in 1646, Henry Vaughan had married his first wife, Catherine Wise, daughter of Charles Wise, by whom he had three daughters - Lucy, Catherine, and Frances - and one son, Thomas. There is, however, some dispute as to whether there may have been a second son born to this union. Theophilus Jones in his biography states as much, and Dr. Grosart is quoted as having said, "I am inclined to think that William Vaughan, censor of the College of Physicians, physician to William IIId., was one of the sons of our worthy mentioned by Mr. Lyte...William Vaughan's 'age 20' in 1668 represents 1648 as the birth-date, and that fits in with the love-verse of the Poems of 1646.

"Mr. G. T. Clark, in his **Genealogies of Glamorgan**, p.240, gives the following account:

"Henry [Vaughan], ob. 1695, aet. 75, father by first wife of (1) a son, s.p.; (2) Lucy ob. 29 Aug., 1780, aet. 92, m. Jenkin Jones of Trebinshwn. Their d. Denise Jones, died single, 1780, aet. 92. By second wife (3) Rachel, m. John Turberville; (4) Edmund; (5) Alexander, ob. 1622 [!], s.p.; (6) Catherine, m. Wm. Harris; (7) Mary, m. John Walbeoffe of Llanhamlach; (8) Elizabeth, m. John Arnold; (9) Frances, m. Wm. Johns of Cwm Dhu." [10](CHAMBERS, Biographical Notes, pp.xvii-xviii)

Many of his early writings reflect Henry Vaughan's clear displeasure with warfare, and his military service during the Civil War appears to have been principally as a non-combatant although he seems to have embraced armed conflict as an honorable calling before that war's end. Following the defeat of the royalists at Naseby in June of 1645, Henry apparently joined King Charles' service as a Lieutenant under Colonel Herbert Price. Later, the names of both Henry and Thomas appear on a list of officers due sixty pounds for service to his Sacred Majesty.

In reading Hutchinson, one is caused to speculate on the likelihood that Henry Vaughan was moved to become a physician in earnest as a result of his military experience. However, this decision was obviously delayed for, upon returning to Brecon, he seems to have devoted himself to his writing, among other activities. After publishing a slim volume of **Poems with the Xth satyre of Juvenall**, his first serious work, **Olor Iscanus**, was penned. Dated 17 December 1647 at Newton by Usk, this work was written before the poems in **Silex Scintillans**, but it was not registered for copyright until 18 April 1651, some thirteen months after the registration of the latter volume.

F. E. Hutchinson and other scholars tend to treat the work of Henry Vaughan as having been created during two distinctly different phases of the poet's life. **Olor Iscanus** is a collection of secular verse while his more widely acclaimed **Silex Scintillans** is exclusively sacred in tone and content. The former work was dedicated to Kildare Digby, the second Lord Digby of Geashill, King's County, Ireland. The exact nature of Vaughan's relationship to Lord Digby is unclear, however, the Digbys owned an English home at Coleshill in Warwickshire, the village home of Richard and Lucy Wise, parents of Henry's wife, Catherine.

Olor Iscanus is a collection of seventeen English poems, most of which were already written by 1647. The first edition underwent several revisions before publication as did a later volume published in 1651. The latter version is described on the title page as "A collection of some poems and translations, formerly written by Mr. Henry Vaughan, Silurist. Published by a Friend." The "friend" is presumed by Hutchinson to have been Thomas Powell, rector of Cantref. These poems encompass a diverse sort, ranging from "The Charnel-house" which Hutchinson describes as "an early imitation of Donne" to **An Epitaph upon the Lady Elizabeth**, original verse commemorating the memory of Lady Elizabeth, second daughter of the king, who died 8 September 1650 at the age of fifteen years. Hutchinson chose these lines from that epitaph:

> Thou semm'st a Rose-bud born in Snow,
> A flowre of purpose sprung to bow
> To headless tempests, and the rage
> Of an Incensed, stormie Age,
> Others, e're their afflictions grow,
> Are tim'd, and season'd for the blow,
> But thine, as Rhumes the tend'rest part,
> Fell on a young and harmless heart.

In addition to his original verse, some of which is said to be imitative of Francis Beaumont and other writers of his day, Henry Vaughan added several translations from their original Latin into English, including four poems by Ovid. Roundly praised for his sacred poetry, his early efforts in a secular vein received scant attention, although Hutchinson points out that this may have been due in part to the fact that "so many of his editors and critics, from Lyte to Grosart and Beeching, have been clergymen."

It is also worth noting that Vaughan himself turned away from - in his own words - "idle verse" even as Thomas Powell set about publishing the 1651 version of his **Olor Iscanus**. [11] (HUTCHINSON, p.83)

One is moved to ponder the possibility that the offbeat life of brother Thomas may have influenced Henry in this new direction.

The Mystical Writer of Sacred Poetry

Henry Vaughan's conversion and dedication to a life of service to his God must have taken place around 1650, although the record is far from clear in this regard. Hutchinson dates his change of heart at somewhere prior to the time of the second publication of **Olor Iscanus** by Powell which occurred in 1651.

Whatever the date, as Hutchinson points out, **Silex Scintillans**, from the first poem 'Regeneration' to the last, is profoundly religious and mystical, not only in phrase but in temper. One of Henry Vaughan's most moving verses was chosen by Hutchinson to open his eighth chapter:

> I saw Eternity the other night
> Like a great Ring of pure and endless light,
> All calm, as it was bright,
> And round beneath it, Time in hours, days, years
> Driv'n by the spheres
> Like a vast shadow mov'd, In which the world
> And all her train were hurl'd.

As Hutchinson remarks, "Here is authentic poetry of such arresting quality as had not been apparent in the poems of 1646 or would be found in the Olor Iscanus of 1651... We need to ask what has given this new direction to his thoughts and caused him to produce poems so immediately different in tone and subject and achievement, from anything he had written before." [12] (HUTCHINSON, p.99)

In attempting to answer his question, Hutchinson cites Henry Vaughan's dedication of his first issue of **Silex Scintillans**. "'To my most merciful, my most loving, and dearly loved Redeemer, the ever blessed, the onely Holy and Just One, Jesus Christ, The Son of the living God, And the sacred Virgin Mary', he writes:

> My God! thou that didst dye for me,
> These thy deaths fruits I offer thee;
> Death that to me was life and light,
> But dark and deep pangs to thy sight.
> Some drops of thy all-quickning blood
> Fell on my heart; those made it bud
> And put forth thus, though Lord, before
> The ground was curst, and void of store.
> Indeed I had some here to hire
> Which long resisted thy desire,
> That ston'd they servants, and did move
> To have thee murthred for they love;
> But Lord, I have expell'd them, and so bent,
> Beg, thou wouldst take thy Tenants Rent.'" [13] (HUTCHINSON, p.100)

While it is clear from such as the preceding that Henry Vaughan had undergone a change of heart, his motivations for so sudden a change are not so apparent. In our preceding chapter we speculate on possible influences, including the likelihood that the expulsion of his brother from the ministry may have precipitated his turning away from secular to sacred verse.

The Parliamentarians prevailed when the Civil War ended in 1646, and the Puritan movement gained momentum throughout south Wales, becoming a source of much trouble and travail for those steadfast in their loyalty to the Crown and the Church of England. Most Vaughans of Tretower and their descendants remained loyal and thus became prime targets of the leaders of the Puritan revolt.

In our preceding chapter on Thomas Vaughan, Henry's twin brother, we dealt with the matter of the eviction of Thomas from his position as rector of Llansantffraed. Occurring in 1650, Henry was at that time fully engaged in the writing of original verse and the translation of **Hermetical Physick** and other such works which, apparently, constituted a form of self-education leading to his eventual practice as a physician. During this same period, Henry suffered a protracted illness which also may have influenced him in the direction of a medical career.

As noted by Guiney and Hutchinson, among others, the Propagation Act of 1650 which was enforced by county sequestration committeemen throughout south Wales led to the eviction not only of his brother, Thomas, but many of Henry's friends as well, including Thomas Powell, rector of Cantref. His old schoolmaster, Matthew Herbert, had been displaced as rector of Llangattock even earlier. All of these efforts to forbid the use of the Book of Common Prayer and other orthodoxy of the Church of England, troubled Henry Vaughan greatly as may be seen in some of his writings of that time.

The Propagation Act of 1650, more properly titled "The Act for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales", named some seventy-one local commissioners whose duty it was to hear evidence and pass upon the fitness of ministers to serve their parishioners. Any five of these commissioners could pass judgment. In Breconshire a militant Jenkin Jones ruled with a heavy hand, and was particularly successful in raising hackles over the use of church funds, leading to the eviction of many pastors in his part of south Wales. Complicating the issue was a divided loyalty wherein many citizens supported the Parliamentarians while opposing the resistance to traditional practices of the Church of England. Henry Vaughan seems to have stood in this camp.

The religious strife prevalent throughout the middle years of the seventeenth century led to the eventual expulsion of the Long Parliament and the Assembly of Nominees or Saints' Parliament, and the appointment of

Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector on 16 December 1653. There followed continued resistance in Wales, with Vavasor Powell and Jenkin Jones seeking to remove the Church of England and substitute their own brand of evangelical preaching through the Puritan movement. Henry Vaughan's opposition to these upstarts is evident in some of his poetry in **Silex Scintillans** and, as Hutchinson points out, "they mar some of Vaughan's best poems." [14] (HUTCHINSON, p.121)

Throughout the tempestuous middle years, Henry Vaughan continued to write both original poetry and prose, and translations of rare and quiet beauty. Hutchinson uses almost these exact words in describing his allusion to Christ's passing the night in prayer 'when the birds of the aire lay warme in their nests' and on Palm Sunday upon the ass 'made infinitely happy by so glorious a rider.'

Henry Vaughan the Physician

Throughout most of the 1650s, Henry Vaughan was at least partially incapacitated by a prolonged and debilitating illness of undisclosed nature. As we have indicated, it may have been during the period of his long convalescence when he determined to commence the practice of medicine. It is also easy to speculate on the probability that Henry Vaughan was moved to become a physician in part at least as a result of his military experience. However, this decision was delayed upon his return from London to Brecon where he applied himself to the work of a law clerk and to his writing.

One of the translations he completed may also have played a significant role in helping him reach the decision to practice medicine. In 1650, following the eviction of his brother from the ministry, Henry applied himself to the translation of **Hermetical Physick** and other such works which, as we have suggested, constituted a form of self-education in the intricacies of medicine. As there is no evidence of his having had formal training in anything other than the study of chemistry and other such subjects during his two years at Oxford, and a period of legal training in London, it seems logical to assume that his medical training was acquired through his own diligent reading and research. In any event, he proceeded during the latter stages of his life to build a respected medical practice throughout Brecon while at the same time pursuing his devotion to creative writing.

Hutchinson suggests that Henry Vaughan may not have devoted himself to medical training in any formal sense at all and probably not in any manner until around 1655 when he had recovered his health. This is also the year of publication of his translation of **Hermetical Physick**. Other writers of the day, including Blunden, believed that Henry may have practiced medicine even as he composed **Silex**

Scintillans. Hutchinson also joins others in noting that Henry's brother, Thomas, apparently had wide-ranging interest in and exposure to 'physic and chymistrie', suggesting further that access to his brother's books and his own sickness may have combined to influence him in the direction of medicine. At one time, we are told, Henry engaged in the same sort of alchemical research as his brother, but he rather abruptly abandoned this to devote himself to his writing.

The medical community of his day, it should be noted, was sharply divided into two camps - those who were known as Hermetists and the then-traditional academicians. The mystery surrounding the medical degree of Henry Vaughan is dealt with at great length by Hutchinson, but with no specific conclusion reached.

One possibilty which seems plausible is alluded to by Hutchinson. "It was already becoming customary in the seventeenth century for practitioners to be popularly styled doctor without being graduates. The astrologer John Pordage (1607-1681) describes himself in his will as 'doctor in physick', and his posthumous book, **Theologia Mystica** (1683), has 'M.D.' on the title-page... Another astrologer, John Heydon, was 'usually styled Doctor'." [15](HUTCHINSON, p.192) There were others of Henry's time who came into medicine through this back door, a route which seems quite likely for him.

Regardless of the exact nature of his professional credentials, Henry Vaughan's reputation as a doctor went far beyond Llansantffraed as he attended patients, particularly of the well-to-do, throughout Brecon, even so far as Glamorganshire and beyond.

Hutchinson is led to acknowledge that the sometimes overzealous Miss Louise Guiney may have rightly depicted Doctor Henry Vaughan in her "imaginative description" of him: "One can picture him on his hardy Welsh pony, drenched in the mountain mists, close-hatted, big-cloaked, riding alone, and looking abroad with those mild eyes which were a nautralist's for earth and sky, and a mystic's for the spiritual world." [16](HUTCHINSON, p.194)

Upon reading that comment, this writer was immediately reminded of Cora Call and her romanticized comments about our ancestor, William Vaughan. In defense of Mrs. Call, again we wish to point out that she wrote "stories" - not genealogy.

The thought that then came to mind was simply this: When hard facts fail to reveal themselves, sometimes the poetic fancy of the muse paints a more truthful picture for us than all the cold names and dates stored away in all of the world's dusty archives.

Henry's Two Families and His Death and Burial

Most of the serious students of the life and times of Henry Vaughan believed that his first wife, Catherine Wise Vaughan, died sometime between the publication of the first and second parts of **Silex Scintillans**, possibly in the year 1652. Upon her demise, Henry still had four surviving children and it is likely that he chose Catherine's sister, Elizabeth Wise, more as a second mother to the children than as a second wife.

According to the pedigree accepted as factual by Hutchinson, the children of the first union were Lucy who later married Charles Greenleafe, Frances, Catherine, and Thomas who married Frances and to whom a son, Thomas, was born in 1701.

Nothing more is known of the eldest daughter, Lucy. Frances died in 1670. The youngest and only son by Catherine, Thomas, produced one male heir who died without issue. The daughter Catherine sued her stepmother (and aunt), Elizabeth, following the death of her father, alleging that when the cottage at Scethrog, called Holy Bush, was assigned to Elizabeth and the son Henry, a certain sum of money was to accrue to her for her lifelong maintenance.

Hutchinson accepted as factual that the second marriage also produced four children: Grisell (d.1737), who married Roger Prosser (d.1707); Lucy who married Jenkin Jones and to whom was born a daughter, Denise who died unmarried in 1780; Rachel (d.1727) who married John Turbeville, to whom was born a son Richard (d.1720), and who had a son John who in turn fathered a daughter, Margaret, who died in 1765. The youngest child born to Henry and Elizabeth was Henry, born in 1661, who later married Janet Walfeoffe and who had no issue. Grissell and Roger Prosser had three children, Elizabeth who died in infancy in 1686, Walter (b. 1693), and another child named Elizabeth (b. 1693) who married Morgan Davies. To this union were born three children, Thomas, Morgan, and Elizabeth.

The reader will recall our earlier reference to a pedigree offered by a Mr. G. T. Clark, in his **Genealogies of Glamorgan**, (p.240), in which he states that there was another son by Catherine who Dr. Grosart felt may have been the William Vaughan, censor of the College of Physicians and physician to William IIId. And, by the second wife, Elizabeth, Clark added the names of two more sons, Edmund and Alexander. Although no other known sources substantiate this, we have three open-ended possibilities to consider for possible extension of the line of descent.

Henry Vaughan died intestate on the twenty-third of April 1695, age 74 years. Hutchinson reminds us that this was also the date of the death of Shakespeare some 79 years earlier,

and of Wordsworth 155 years later. It was the latter, more popular writer who came into possession of Vaughan's poetry toward the end of the eighteenth century and rekindled interest in his work. It has been said that Wordsworth's **Ode on the Intimations of Immortality** and his **Happy Warrior** "exhibit traces of his (Vaughan's) influence." Others have spoken of "some striking parallels" between Tennyson and Vaughan's poems but Tennyson denied any familiarity with them.

The Crickhowell biography flatly asserts that "there is now (after Milton) no poet of the Caroline period, except Herbert and Herrick, who is more widely known, and not one whose reputation is more solidly established."[17] (CRICKHOWELL, p.166)

Buried in Llansantffraed Churchyard, a large stone covers the grave of Henry Vaughan. On it are inscribed the words, "HENRICUS VAUGHAN - SILURIS M.D. OBIIT AP. 23. ANO SAL. 1695 AETAT. SUAE 73'." Below these words is the family coat of arms, that of Vaughan of Tretower, with an inverted chevron and three young men with snakes entwined around their bare shoulders. And, below the arms, the latin inscription, "QUOD IN SEPULCHRUM VOLUIT. SERVUS INUTILIS; PECCATOR MAXIMUS HIC IACEO" followed by a cross and the two words, "Gloria Meserere."

A modern poet, Siegfried Sassoon, penned a poem in 1928 to which he gave the name, **At the Grave of Henry Vaughan.** Hutchinson reminds us that it, perhaps better than any other writing, "happily expressed the nature of our debt to the Silurist."

> Above the voiceful windings of a river
> An old green slab of simply graven stone
> Shuns notice, overshadowed by a yew.
> Here Vaughan lies dead whose name flows on forever
> Through pastures of the spirit washed with dew
> And starlit with eternities unknown.
> Here sleeps the Silurist; the loved physician;
> The face that left no portraiture behind;
> The skull that housed white angels and had vision
> Of daybreak through the gateways of the mind.
> Here faith and mercy, wisdom and humility
> (Whose influence shall prevail for evermore)
> Shine. And this lowly grave tells Heaven's tranquility
> And Here stands I, a suppliant at the door.[18] (HUTCHINSON, p.142)

Chapter Ten

Vaughans Thick Upon The Ground

I am indebted to my cousin, Margaret Ann Vaughan, and to Ron Kesterson for first suggesting the two major works cited in this chapter as source material, and to Nadean Lee of Arkansas State University for obtaining these and other reference books for my use via the Interlibrary Loan. Much of the material in this chapter that deals with John Vaughan has been provided by Lewis Vaughan who graciously consented to its use. Most of it was not included in his **Vaughan Pioneers** *and appears in print here for the first time. We have attempted to identify this material through end-noted references to his correspondence.*

Checking Ships' Passenger Lists

Searching ships' passenger lists can be a frustrating experience. It is a bit like looking for the proverbial needle in a haystack to delve into one of the many lists of passengers who emigrated from Europe to America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in hopes of finding a missing ancestor. All early immigrants came to America by ship and, for many, there is no record of their port of departure or arrival. Furthermore, there are more lists for indentured servants and criminals available than for any other single group. While we should not dismiss these kinds of possibilities as totally improbable, our William Vaughan does not seem to have been the kind of person who would have arrived in America under these conditions. However, Vaughans of Tretower did have their moments in history when their political alliances placed their lives in jeopardy. And we should not lose sight of the fact that even among the more privileged classes it was sometimes difficult to accomodate all family members in style and comfort. The economic times were often harsh. Much of the warring for position and power had economic need as its prime motivator. Then too, faced as we are with a rather difficult genealogical riddle to solve, when all else fails, a search of available ships' passenger records would seem to be in order.

The two reference works mentioned at the beginning of this chapter are **A Bibliography of Ships' Passenger Lists, 1583-1825** by Harold Lancour, and **Passenger and Immigration Lists Index: A Guide to Published Arrival Records** in 3 volumes, edited by P. William Filby with Mary K. Meyer, 1981, Gale Research Company, Detroit. Both have great potential value as source material providing the researcher has some clues as to the name of a specific individual, the approximate year of his or her arrival, and/or the port of entry into America.

Filby names passengers. Lancour provides an extensive bibliography of ships' passenger lists. Although this latter book names not a single passenger, it identifies sources of passenger lists for hundreds of ships by year and their ports of entry.

Filby's 3-volume work is a condensation of several books. It lists passengers - thousands of passengers - and we found these to be of particular interest initially:

Vagha, John De, arrived Maryland 1666-1750, source book #7997 (SCHARF), p.11. Names of aliens naturalized by Special Acts of the Provincial Legislature between 1666 and 1750 are included in this **History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day.**

Vaghan, John, age 23, arrived Virginia 1619, source book #3520 (JESTER), p.65. "Musters of the Inhabitants in Virginia 1624-1625". **Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia, 1607-1625.**

Vaghan, John, age 23, arrived Virginia 1624, source book #3283 (HOTTEN), p.260. **The Original Lists of Persons of Quality; Emmigrants; Religious Exiles; Political Rebels...,** among others arriving in Virginia, early 1600s.

Vaugh, Patrick, arrived Pennsylvania 1771, source book #7207 (RECORD IND.), p.20. "Record of Indentures of Individuals...Philadelphia, October 3, 1771 to October 5, 1773"

Vaughan, Andrew, arrived Virginia 1654-1663, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.99. **Bristol and America: A record of the first settlers in the Colonies of North America, 1654-1685, including the names with places of origin of more than 10,000 servants to foreign plantations who sailed from the Port of Bristol to Virginia, Maryland, and other parts of the Atlantic Coast, and also to the West Indies from 1654 to 1685.**

Vaughan, Christ, arrived Virginia 1642, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337. **Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666**

Vaughan, Daniell, arrived America 1654-1663, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.36.

Vaughan, David, arrived Virginia 1637, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

Vaughan, David, arrived Virginia 1663, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.148.

Vaughan, Davie, age 18, arrived Virginia 1635, source book #3283 (HOTTEN), p.119 and #9151 (), p.96.

Vaughan, Edward, arrived America 1748, source book #1223 (COLDHAM-2), p.152.

Vaughan, Edward, arrived Maryland or Virginia 1728, source book #1222 (COLDHAM-1), p.273.

Vaughan, Edwd., arrived Virginia 1644, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

Vaughan, Geo., arrived Virginia 1648, source book #2772 (GREER), p.338.

Vaughan, George, arrived America 1740, source book #1222 (COLDHAM-1), p.81 and p.273. (Convicts from Middlesex)

Vaughan, George, arrived Maryland 1736, source book #1222 (COLDHAM-1), p.273.

Vaughan, George, arrived Virginia 1654-1663, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.94.

Vaughan, George, arrived Virginia 1734, source book #1222 (COLDHAM-1), p. 273.

Vaughan, Henry, arrived Virginia 1722, source book #618 (BOCKSTRUCK), p. 234. **Some Amelia County, Virginia, Colonists, 1737-1745**

Vaughan, Hugh, arrived Nevis 1654-1663, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.101.

Vaughan, James, arrived Rappahannock, Va. 1725, source book #1223 (COLDHAM-2), p.152. (Convicts from London)

Vaughan, John, arrived Maryland 1722 or 1725, source book #1222 (COLDHAM-1), p.273.

Vaughan, John, arrived Pennsylvania 1772, source book #7207 (RECORD IND.), p. 150.

Vaughan, John, arrived Virginia 1636, 1637, 1652 source book #2772 (GREER), p. 337.

Vaughan, John, arrived Virginia 1663-1679, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.134.

Vaughan, Jon, arrived Virginia 1642, source book #9151 (TEPPER), p.337. **Passengers to America: a Consolidation of Ship Passenger Lists and Associated Data from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register.**

Vaughan, Lewis, arrived Virginia 1636, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

Vaughan, Patrick, arrived Virginia 1635, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

Vaughan, Patrick, arrived Virginia 1635, source book #6258 (O'BRIEN), p.213. "Early Immigrants to Virginia (1623-1666)". Michael J. O'Brien, **The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society.**

Vaughan, Patrick, arrived Virginia 1638, source book #2772 (GREER), p. 337 and source book #6258 (), p.213.

Vaughan, Richard, arrived America 1761, source book #8530 (SMITH-BRIT), p.89. **British Deportees to America, Part I: 1760-1763.**

Vaughan, Richard, arrived Virginia 1654-1663, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.93.

Vaughan, Rowd, arrived Virginia 1636, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

Vaughan, Rowland, arrived Virginia 1663-1679, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.113.

Vaughan, Rowland, age 19, arrived Virginia 1635, source book #3283 (HOTTEN), p.109 and source book #9151, p.99.

Vaughan, Symon, arrived Virginia 1651, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

Vaughan, Tho., arrived Virginia 1653. source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

Vaughan, Thom., arrived Virginia 1638, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

Vaughan, Thomas, arrived America 1768, source book #1223 (COLDHAM-2), p. 152.

Vaughan, Thomas, arrived Virginia 1654-1663s, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.83.

Vaughan, William, arrived America 1763, source book #8530 (SMITH-BRIT), p.90.

Vaughan, William, arrived America 1764, source book #1223 (COLDHAM-2), p.152.

Vaughan, William, arrived Connecticut 1620-1650, source book #275 (BANKS-TOP), p.56. **Topographical Dictionary of 2885 English Emigrants to New England, 1620-1650.**

Vaughan, William, arrived Virginia 1654-1663, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.29.

Vaughan, Wm, arrived West New Jersey 1664, source book #9135 (TEPPER), p.82.

Vaughan, Xph, arrived Virginia 1655, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

Vaughan, Xtopher, arrived Virginia 1652-53-54, source book #2772 (GREER), pp.337-338.

Vaughans, Richard, arrived Virginia 1654-1663, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.96.

Vaughn, David, arrived Virginia 1707, source book #666 (BOOGHER), p.8. **Immigrant List, 1707.**

Vaughn, Wm., arrived South Carolina 1728, source book #3510 (JERVEY), p.171. **The White Indented Servants of South Carolina.**

In reviewing the reprint of the Hotten book, among others, it becomes apparent that the three-volume Filby compendium may have omitted some of the original entries in these source books as, for example, in the case of Hotten's entries for John Vaughan. The reprint of the Hotten original includes the following:

P.118 lists Jo. Vaughan, age 17, a passenger transported to Virginia aboard the **Elizabeth** in August of 1635.

P.135 lists Jo. Vaughan, age 23, a passenger aboard the **Amitie** bound to St. Christoph in October of 1635.

P.260 lists a John Vaghan, aged 23, an indentured servant aboard the **Bona Noua** in 1619.

P.305 lists a Mr. John Vaughan, holder by lease from Mr. Casewell of the Somer Islands Company, 1 share containing an estimatged 25 acres, 1662-1663.

P.507 lists Sarah, daughter of Mr. John Vaughan, baptized in the Parish of St. Johns, November 26, 1678.

A comparison of these entries with those excerpted from Filby reveals several differences. Although the Filby compilation is extensive, it does not include all ships'

passengers who arrived here during the years in question. One should, therefore, examine original materials whenever and wherever possible and even then there are vast numbers of emigres whose names were never recorded at all.

A more complete explanation of the abbreviations used in this chapter when referring to Filby source books follows, along with publishers, when they are available.
[1] (FILBY-1/3)

#275 (BANKS-TOP) **Topographical Dictionary of 2885 English Emigrants to New England, 1620-1650**, Charles E. Banks. Philadelphia, Bertram Press, 1937, reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1957. (Lancour 5)

#618 (BOCKSTRUCK) **Some Amelia County, Virginia, Colonists, 1737-1745**, Lloyd Dewitt Bockstruck, National Genealogical Society Quarterly, 65:3 (September 1977), p.234.

#666 (BOOGHER) **Immigrant List, 1707**, William Fletcher Boogher, 1903, reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1965. (Lancour 225)

#943 (BRISTOL) **Bristol and America: A record of the first settlers in the Colonies of North America, 1654-1685**, including the names with places of origin of more than 10,000 servants to foreign plantations who sailed from the Port of Bristol to Virginia, Maryland, and other parts of the Atlantic Coast, and also to the West Indies from 1654 to 1685. R. S. Glover, 1929, reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1967. (Lancour 11)

#1222 (COLDHAM-1) **English Convicts in Colonial America, Volume 1**, (Middlesex, 1617-1775), Peter Wilson Coldham, New Orleans, Polyanthos, 1974.

#1223 (COLDHAM-2) **English Convicts in Colonial America, Volume 2**, (London, 1656-1775), Peter Wilson Coldham, New Orleans, Polyanthos, 1974.

#2772 (GREER) **Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666**, George Cabell Greer, W. C. Hill Printing Co., 1912, reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1960. (Lancour 216)

#3283 (HOTTEN) **The Original Lists of Persons of Quality; Emmigrants; Religious Exiles; Political Rebels**, etc., John Camden Hotten, London, 1874, reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1974. (Lancour 1)

#3510 (JERVEY) **The White Indented Servants of South Carolina**, Theodore D. Jervey, South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine. 12:4 (October 1911), pp.163-171. (Lancour 235)

#3520 (JESTER) "Musters of the Inhabitants in Virginia 1624-1625". **Adventurers of Purse and Person: Virginia, 1607-1625**, Jester and Hiden, Princeton University Press, 1956, pp.5-69. (Lancour 210)

#5328 (MASS) **A List of Alien Passengers...**, J. B. Monroe, Boston, 1851. Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1971.

#6258 (O'BRIEN) "Early Immigrants to Virginia (1623-1666)". Michael J. O'Brien, **The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society**. 13(1913-1914), pp.209-213. (Lancour 216A)

#7207 (RECORD IND.) "Record of Indentures of Individuals... Philadelphia, October 3, 1771 to October 5, 1773", **The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses. Volume 16 (1905), Lancaster, 1907, reprinted by Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1973. (Lancour 184)**

#7997 (SCHARF) **"Names of Aliens Naturalized by Special Acts of the Provincial Legislature Between 1666 and 1750". History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day, Volume II**, John Thomas Scharf, reprint by Tradition Press of Hatboro, Pennsylvania, 1967, available from Gale Research Company, Detroit, Michigan. (Lancour 200)

#8530 (SMITH-BRIT) **British Deportees to America, Part I: 1760-1763**, Clifford Neal Smith, British-American Genealogical Research Monograph, Number 1, Westland Publications, Dekalb, Illinois, 1974.

#9151 (TEPPER) **Passengers to America: a Consolidation of Ship Passenger Lists and Associated Data from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register.** Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1977, reprinted with new indexes in 1978.

Have We Learned Anything About William And John?

Do we now know anything more about our William Vaughan? Have we come across any clues as to the date of his arrival in America? What about John Vaughan, husband of Nancy Callicot Vaughan? Were this John and our William brothers?

You may recall that the first document that Lewis Vaughan found which provided evidence that William Vaughan was alive and well in this country was a list of tithables for the year 1773 for the New River portion of Fincastle County, Virginia. Existing for but a brief period, from 1773 to 1777, it then covered all of southwestern Virginia, including present-day Russell County where tax records show that both William and Fereby owned property and probably resided from 1783 to 1797. The names of both William Vaughan

and Thomas Vawn appear on a list prepared by a John Montgomery to show all of the tithables in a Captain Herbert's Company in 1773, but William, you will recall, was listed as "not found." By this time he had apparently left the New River country. His name does not appear on the list of tithables for the preceding year when that same area was a part of Botetourt County.

The reader is also reminded that an auditor's account which survived intact from Lord Dunmore's War shows that, in 1774, William Vaughan served for a period of 35 days in the company of Captain David Looney who was from an area adjoining the Cherokee Nation which included what would later become Sullivan County, Tennessee. When he reviewed original source material at the Virginia State Library, Lewis Vaughan was able to determine that "William Vaughan and those listed adjacent to him were all paid by Lieut. John Cox. Cox and most of those paid by him were also included on the list prepared by John Montgomery in 1773. From this it is apparent that the William Vaughan who served under Captain David Looney was the same man who in 1772 or 1773 settled briefly in the New River area."[2] (PIONEERS, p. 232)

Lewis Vaughan was intrigued with the relationship of William to John Vaughan who may hold some clues to William's background, particularly if they were brothers. Earlier we noted that we simply did not know whether John Vaughan was a blood relative of William's or just a good friend and neighbor. Ten years after writing and publishing Vaughan Pioneers, Lewis Vaughan had these further thoughts about this matter:

"One thing I didn't dwell on in VP (VAUGHAN PIONEERS), and perhaps should have, is the relationship between William and the John Vaughan of Hawkins County, Tenn...The more I ponder, the more I tend to believe that William and John were brothers. John apparently enlisted from Maryland. There is much detail about his service in both the Maryland and U. S. archives. Despite this, I haven't been able to locate him in other Maryland records. All I have been able to find is a reference to John Vaughan, single, in the Charles County, Md., assessment of 1783. This conceivably could be the Hawkins County John, but there is nothing to shed any light on his origins. There are 3 William Vaughans from Maryland with Revolutionary War service. The most intriguing is the William who enlisted Feb. 10, 1777, for a term of 3 years in the Maryland Artillery. He served in a different company, but the same regiment, as John Vaughan."[3] (LEWIS V LETTER 10/16/89)

The John Vaughan who later joined William and Fereby in Hawkins County, Tennessee, <u>may have been</u> (underlined for emphasis) the John Vaughan who enlisted and served in the Colonial Army from Maryland from around 1776-78. Lewis Vaughan has this to say about that: "I don't think there is

any question that these two John Vaughans were one and the same. Nancy Vaughan's declaration seeking a widow's pension identified her husband's service as having been 'in the company commanded by Capt. William Brown of Col. Charles Harrison's regiment of artillery.' Muster rolls of this company are a matter of record. John Vaughan was listed, and there were no other John Vaughans listed. While Nancy's pension claim was not approved, the disapproval seems to have been based on the fact that she was unable to come up with documentary evidence that she was in fact John Vaughan's widow. I think the likelihood is minimal that she would have had information about this John Vaughan's service from any other source.

"John Vaughan enlisted as Gunner Nov. 22, 1777, for a term of three years. He actually served for the remainder of the war. John Vaughan, Serjeant, was on the Dec. 5, 1788 list of soldiers who received the Gratuity of Congress for serving to the end of the war. His service overall was thus from 1777 to 1782." [4](LETTER-11/14/89)

Saffell's records, a copy of which I found in the Tennessee Archives, provides us with some information of interest regarding the Revolutionary War service of the John Vaughan in Captain William Brown's Company of Maryland Artillery. As Lewis Vaughan discovered, this John Vaughan's name appears on a list of "non-commissioned officers who joined (Captain Brown's) Company November 22, 1777" under the category, "Matrosses for Three Years" (page 228); and as a sergeant in that company "as it stood on the High Hills of the Santee Aug. 1 1781" (page 229).

A note appended to page 230 states, "Captain Brown's Company was located at Valley Forge until June 1778; at White Plains, July 1778; at Fort Schuyler, Aug and Sep 1780; at High Hills of the Santee in Aug 1781; at Col Scirvins, Jan 1782; and at Bacon's Bridge SC in April 1782.

Saffell's record continues, "The Maryland Artillery under Captains Brown and Dorsey were joined to Colonel Harrison's regiment in 1779, and continued to do duty in this regiment to the close of the war" (page 255). A Lieutenant George H. Vaughn's name appears on page 548 on a list of invalids who had applied for land grants with the notation "d. Dec 2 1820." On page 554 Saffell concludes, "...many whose merits deserved a temple, scarce found a tomb; and to them, How vain! how frail! how transitory! This world with all its pomp and show! Its mighty names, renown'd in story - They've gladly left them all below!"
[1](SAFFELL, pp. 228-230, 255, 548, 554)

Maryland John Vaughan was born around 1762, making him a somewhat younger contemporary of William. Was this the John Vaughan of American Revolutionary War service, or another younger John who also had military service in the same war? Lewis Vaughan found no other John Vaughan in similar circumstances and neither did I in my further investigation.

In both the Archives of Maryland and the Tennessee Library & Archives, records confirm wife Nancy's assertion that her John Vaughan served during the American Revolution in Captain William Brown's company of Maryland Artillery from 1777 to the end of that war. Nancy's John would have been only 15 years of age when he enlisted in the Colonial Army, but this was not all that unusual. You may recall that Lewis Vaughan found a John Vaughan who was then unmarried and living in Charles County, Maryland in 1783. Again, this conceivably could be the Hawkins County John, but we cannot state this unequivocally at this time.

We do not know where this John resided in 1772-73 when William was in Fincastle County, Virginia and during William's 1774 service in Dunmore's War. However, while Maryland John had revolutionary war service, at this point in our investigation we have no documented proof that our William also served in that war although the William Vaughan who enlisted February 10, 1777 for a term of 3 years in the Maryland Artillery could very well have been our William. As Lewis Vaughan has reminded us, we know that he was not living with Fereby during this period.

There is a reference to John Vaughan, single, in the Charles County, Maryland assessment of 1783. At that particular time, William and Fereby were probably in Russell County where Land Office Treasury Warrant Number 16637, issued 29 May 1783, granted a tract of land to William Vaughan. Three years elapsed before this 400-acre tract was surveyed, and then another seven years passed before a certificate of ownership was issued, the latter dated 16 May 1793. A second grant for 70 additional acres was made 13 August 1794.

Although we have previously recited these facts in our chapter on William and Fereby, they serve a useful purpose once more in helping us to think in terms of the whereabouts of William and Maryland John in 1783 and in the years immediately following. Less than three years after the land grant of 1794 was made, William and Fereby disposed of half of the 400-acre tract, selling it to Benjamin Wallis. On the 24th of February in 1797 they sold the 70-acre tract to John Watts. Eight months later, on 24 October 1797, Nathan Ellington, by virtue of a power of attorney, sold the remainder of the 400-acre tract to William Irven. The use of the power of attorney for this final sale in Russell County indicates that William and Fereby left Russell County before 24 October 1797. On 15 August 1797 William Vaughan purchased from William McClean a 250-acre tract of land on the north side of Clinch Mountain on Little War Creek in Hawkins County, Tennessee. The date of purchase, it will be noted, was after the 24 January and 22 February sales when he was still in Russell County, but before the 24 October sale which was handled through a power of attorney.

In 1788, John Vaughan met his future wife, Nancy Callicot in Charlotte County, Virginia, married her in Halifax County, Virginia in 1794, and then moved with her in 1800 to Hawkins County, Tennessee. Lewis Vaughan once more reminds us of a "peculiar circumstance worthy of note" in that "they moved to a tract of land adjacent to William that the latter had recently sold to John Helton. Several years later Helton sold the land to John. I wonder if perhaps John wasn't able to buy the land in 1800 and Helton made the purchase instead, in effect financing the deal." [5](LETTER-11/14/89)

The evidence strongly suggests that this John Vaughan, husband of Nancy Callicot Vaughan, was related to William, and was quite possibly his younger brother. If we could determine the exact relationship between Fereby's William and Nancy's John, we would, of course, increase our chances of identifying their parents and, hopefully, the Welsh emigre ancestor we are seeking.

As we now know, William and Fereby stayed on in Hawkins County for a period of some seventeen years with John Vaughan and his wife Nancy Callicot Vaughan nearby during a good part of that time. Evidence points to their remaining in Hawkins County when Fereby and William moved on with their sons to White County in Tennessee.

John and Nancy had eleven children, including sons James, born 15 October 1795, and Beverly who was born 4 January 1798. At least these two of their eleven children - James and Beverly - followed William and Fereby when they left Hawkins County, although their father, John, later seems to have been unaware of their whereabouts. As we have seen, his will, dated 27 December 1841, stated as much. While James and Beverly Vaughan accompanied William and Fereby to White County, Tennessee they did not continue with them on into Missouri as the 1820 census shows that they were still living in White County. They did join them later in northwest Arkansas. An interesting connection between the Vaughans and Callicos (Callicot) is found in the 1892 deposition by John C. Callico in which he identified William and Fereby as his grandparents, making their daughter Elizabeth his mother.

Of the three William Vaughans from Maryland who had Revolutionary War service, the most interesting is the William who enlisted on the tenth of February in 1777, and subsequently served for a term of 3 years in the Maryland Artillery. He was in a different company, but the same regiment, as John Vaughan. The nagging question continues to plague us: Was this William our William, and was this John his brother?

Before leaving the subject of the likely relationship of our William Vaughan and Maryland John Vaughan, we temporarily suspended writing of this chapter and sent it off to Lewis Vaughan for his comments and suggestions. Once

*more he very kindly looked into his notes and records and, in fact, did some additional research. What he wrote in response follows without change in a section on **William and John Vaughan of Hawkins County, Tennessee**. We are again indebted to him for these additional comments.*

William and John Vaughan of Hawkins County, Tennessee
(by Lewis Vaughan)

The relationship between William and John Vaughan is covered in a general way in **VAUGHAN PIONEERS** under the heading <u>The Hawkins County Period (1797-1814).</u> It is assumed in the following discussion that the reader is familiar with this material, which appears on pages 234-235 of the book.

The following statement appears in **VAUGHAN PIONEERS**:

> Whether William and John were simply neighbors or had blood ties as well is a question that still has not been definitely resolved.

The above statement is still true today. It is the purpose of this discussion to treat the relationship of William and John in greater depth, so that anyone interested in the matter will have access to all relevant data in my possession on the subject.

First, let me elaborate on the known facts pertaining to John Vaughan. Rather than list them in historical sequence, as I did in the book, I shall present them in the order that they became known to me in the course of my research.

I first became interested in Hawkins County, Tennessee, when I discovered the land transactions there involving William Vaughan. It soon became apparent that the Hawkins County William and the Russell County William were one and the same. At this point I started running down all data involving Vaughan families in Hawkins County. Hawkins County was a veritable crossroads of western migration during this period, and a number of the Vaughans recorded there apparently bear no relationship to William.

<u>Censuses and Tax Lists</u>

The earliest extant census for Hawkins County was for the year 1830. Prior to that there were three tax lists involving persons named Vaughan for the years 1809, 1810, and 1812. The 1809 list included a James Vaughan who subsequent research has shown originated in eastern Virginia, and evidently was not related to William or John. The other tax lists included the following:

Capt. Looney Company 1810 Puncheon Camp & Pore Valley

Vaughan, William	100	---
Vaughan, John	100	1

Tax List taken by Wm. Nichols, 1812

Vaughn, William Sinior	100	---
Vaughn, John	100	1
Vaughn, William Junor	---	1

The third column represents tithables. The maximum tithable age in Tennessee's early history was 50, and I believe that figure is applicable here as well. William was well beyond that age in 1810 and so was not subject to poll tax. John was subject to tax in both 1810 and 1812, and so presumably was not yet 50 when listed in 1812 - hence was born no earlier than 1762.

The 1830 census for Hawkins County reports John Vaughan to be in the 60-70 age bracket. This places his year of birth between 1760 and 1770. The 1840 census figures are consistent with those for 1830.

It was on the basis of the census and tax list data that **VAUGHAN PIONEERS** reported John's year of birth as 1762. In view of his Revolutionary War service commencing in 1777 it hardly seems possible that he could have been born later.

John Vaughan's Will

John Vaughan left a will dated December 27, 1841, and proven August term 1842. In view of the short time lapse the will must have been drawn up in anticipation of death.

The only item in the will relevant to this discussion is the following provision:

> Whereas my sons Beverly Vaughan and James L. Vaughan has gone to parts unknown, if they should return within two years after my death I do give and bequeath to them one dollar each.

As **VAUGHAN PIONEERS** points out, Beverly and James Vaughan seem to have attached themselves early on to William and Fereby. They must have accompanied them to middle Tennessee, for they are both included in the 1820 White County census. (William by this time had already left Tennessee for Missouri.) In the 1840 census a female in Fereby's age bracket was reported to be living in James Vaughan's household in Washington County, Arkansas (in an area adjacent to Madison County). Beverly was listed in Madison County in this same census. There appears to be no question that these two were John Vaughan's sons. An affidavit dated May 28, 1858, by their brother Benjamin stated that "... the

last account I had of Beverly he was in the State of Arkansaw..."

Nancy Vaughan's Pension Claim

The pension claim of John Vaughan's wife Nancy is included in the National Archives. Her original declaration was dated Feb. 3, 1858. Her age at the time was "about 81 years," making her year of birth about 1777. Subsequently she stated she was about 11 years of age when she first met John in Charlotte County, Virginia (ie., about 1788).

Nancy stated in her declaration that "she is the widow of John Vaughn who was a gunner in or about the year 1780 and was a Seargeant in or about the year 1781 in the company commanded by Capt William Brown of Col. Charles Harrison's regiment of artillery. That he was an enlisted soldier in the aforesaid Maryland artillery..." In a subsequent statement she said she did not know the place where her husband entered service. "And That she recollects of hearing her said husband speaking of several places that he was at during his Service some of which she recollects as follows to wit the HIgh Hills of the Santee & Fort Schuyler and several other places which I cannot at this time call to mind..."

Nancy's pension claim was denied. The basis for the denial appears to be the lack of documentary evidence. She was unable to locate John's honorable discharge, and had no documenatry evidence of her marriage to him. Thanks to this she supplied a wealth of data pertaining to her family that is a veritable treasure trove to her descendants.

As **VAUGHAN PIONEERS** states, records of John Vaughan's service are detailed in volume XVIII, Archives of Maryland, and in the records of the National Archives. The Maryland Archives include a "Muster Roll of Capt. William Brown's Company in the Regt. of Artillery in the Service of the United States of America, Commanded by Col. Charles Harrison, for November, 1778." John Vaughan is listed on this roll as a Gunner, appointed Nov. 22, 1777. No other Vaughan is included on the roll. The evidence seems conclusive that this John Vaughan was Nancy's husband. It is almost inconceivable that this uneducated housewife could have had any knowledge of this military organization other than through information acquired from her husband.

On a muster roll dated "from Jan. 1st to Mch. 31st, 1782 [All Enlisted for the War]" John Vaughan had advanced to the rank of Serjeant. Among the locations reported for muster and pay rolls in the National Archives that include John Vaughan are Fort Schuyler in early 1780. Most of these locations seem to have been in the northern states until 1782, when the locale shifts to South Carolina.

Searching for John Vaughan's Origins

In her pension declaration Nancy Vaughan stated that "to the best of her information her said husband John Vaughn was born in the State of Virginia at least the first time she ever knew him was in Sharlott County in Virginia and at that time she states that she was about eleven years of age."

(*At this point, Lewis Vaughan appended the following as a footnote:*)

If John was in fact born in Virginia, the place would most likely be Charlotte County, since that is the location where he settled after the War. I have rather extensive notes on Charlotte County, taken during the course of my research on a William Vaughan there who was a contemporary of our William. The only reference in my notes to this John Vaughan is the following listing from Marriage Bonds & Ministers' Returns of Charlotte County, Virginia, 1764-1815, compiled and published by Catherine Lindsay Knorr, 1951: "5 October 1792. John VAUGHAN & NANCY CALLICOTT. Sur. Henry Hughes. p.179." From Nancy's pension claim we know that she and John were actually married in Halifax County, Virginia, in October 1794.

(*Continuing from Nancy's pension declaration,*) "She further states that she does not know the name of the place where her said husband entered the service at."

I can only conclude from the above that Nancy did not in fact know John's place of birth. The most likely origin of a youngster entering military service at age 15 would appear to be the state where he entered service, though one cannot exclude the possibility that he ran away from home to enter service. I have been unable to pinpoint a Vaughan family in Maryland from which John may have originated, but this may be due to my own research inadequacies. I have all along believed that his origins were in Maryland, but I may very well be wrong in this conclusion.

A number of the early Vaughan settlers in Maryland were located adjacent to the Chesapeake Bay. However, in 1790, the date of the first U. S. census, Vaughan families were reported living in only three Maryland counties - Baltimore, Prince George's, and St. Mary's. I spent quite some time examining the Baltimore County Vaughans. The patriarch of this group was Abraham Vaughan, who married Edith Gist, a sister of the noted explorer. I wish I could report a connection, but finally had to admit I struck out with this group.

Maryland has relatively few personal property tax records. I succeeded in locating one fairly promising lead. John Vaughan, single, was listed in Charles County, Maryland, in the Assessment of 1783. Presumably this could be Nancy's future husband back in Maryland after the end of

the war and before his subsequent journey south to Charlotte County, Virginia.

While it seems rather far-fetched to assume a connection, the following excerpt from Maryland Main and the Eastern Shore, by Hulbert Footner, 1942, D. Appleton-Century Co. Inc. (reprinted by Tradition Press, 1967) is of some interest:

> Chief among [the great figures of Charles County in the past] was General William Smallwood, who led the Maryland regiments to such good advantage during the American Revolution. He saved Washington's army at the Battle of Long Island, and was the General's good neighbor and friend. I made a pilgrimage to Smallwood's Retreat, his home, about ten miles from La Plata, and was saddened to discover that the charming little house had been allowed to fall into ruin. Washington used to come here to attend Masonic meetings. I am told that a fund is being raised to restore it. General Smallwood, who became a Governor of Maryland after the Revolution, is buried near-by. In 1898 the Sons of the Revolution marked the spot with an immense block of granite.

William Vaughan's Military Service

As stated in **VAUGHAN PIONEERS**, William and Fereby apparently were separated for the entire Revolutionary War period. We can only conjecture where he might have been during this period. One possible clue mentioned in the book was the tradition recorded by Cora Pinkley Call that William met Daniel Boone in the wilds of Kentucky and made scouting expeditions in Kentucky and Tennessee and points west. Another possibility is that he may have had actual military service.

There are many William Vaughans who served during the Revolution one of whom could easily have been our ancestor. Just as one example, consider the William Vaughn who served as Matross in Capt. Samuel Eddens' Company of Artillery in Col. Charles Harrison's Regiment. (John Vaughan's service was in this same regiment.) This William Vaughn is recorded in the National Archives on a Company Muster Roll dated may 1778 and on another Roll dated Valley Forge June 3, 1778. He enlisted Feb. 10, 1777, for a term of 3 years. We have no subsequent information concerning this William.

Some Final Thoughts

I have attempted above to set out the salient facts on William and John Vaughan's relationship. Having done so, I feel compelled to reiterate the statement from **VAUGHAN PIONEERS** quoted at the outset of this discussion. There are all sorts of possibilities but not enough facts for us to draw any definite conclusions.

Take the hypothesis that John was William's younger brother. There are some things that make this an intriguing possibility. William named his two eldest sons Thomas and John. There was a Thomas Vawn listed among the Fincastle County tithables, and of course John Vaughan of Hawkins County could have been the other namesake. But there were so many Thomas and John Vaughans around that this doesn't really prove anything.

Consider too that William's and John's families resided side by side in Hawkins County from 1800, when John and Nancy first moved there, till 1814, when William sold out and moved to middle Tennessee. In 1800 William sold the land where John settled to John Helton, and Helton subsequently sold it to John Vaughan. One can reasonably surmise that Helton's action here was in effect financing the sale. Evidently John did not have enough cash to swing the deal in 1800, but by 1806 had accumulated sufficient funds to pay Helton off.

Why didn't William sell the land to John originally, and wait for his money as Helton evidently did? Particularly, if the two were related, it would seem unnecessary to involve a third party. On the other hand, if they were not related, the circumstances surrouding the move indicate that William and John were at least acquainted before either of them moved to Hawkins County, and that John followed William there. Some kind of bond evidently existed between the two men.

Again, consider the possibility that William had military service. John was proud of his service, to the point that even Nancy could recite some of the campaigns in which he served. William, on the other hand, if he did in fact serve, apparently placed so little emphasis on his service that none of his descendants left us any information about it.

In short, William and John had some kind of relationship, but its nature remains unclear. John wouldn't have moved all the way from Charlotte or Halifax County, Virginia, to Hawkins County, Tenn., and settled down next to William by pure happenstance. Were they related by blood, or did they meet during military service, or is there some other reasonable explanation? At this point, I still honestly don't know.

*This ends the added comments of Lewis Vaughan under the date 12/11/89 on the subject of **William and John Vaughan of Hawkins County, Tennessee.***

In scanning Volume I of the catalog to the DAR Library of Family History and Genealogy lists, which we found in the excellent genealogical room at the Craighead County Library in Jonesboro, Arkansas, we discovered the names of a number of books of possible interest including the following:

Herman Griffin Vaughan's 461-page genealogical record of **John Vaughan of Newport, Rhode Island, 1638**, LC 76-477797

George Enos Hodgdon's 169-page **Reminiscences of Vaughans of New Hampshire**, LC 18-7045

Benjamin Brodie Winborne's 104-page **The Vaughans of Hertford Countuy, N.C.**, LC 23-18595

At this point, grasping for any possible straw, we added to this list the Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Applications, 1800-1900, as well as five family works on Bentons. Another book of interest is John H. Sheppard's 40-page study of the **Vaughan Family of Boston.**

We resolved to examine these and other source books during a visit to the Tennnessee Library & Archives in January of 1990, and to report whatever we find there either in this or our concluding chapter.

A rather thorough search of microfilmed records of North Carolinia marriages from 1770-1840 turned up nothing on either a William Vaughan or Fereby Benton, although it is doubtful that all of the marriages that occurred as early as 1770 were included on this or any other such list.

In reviewing M. J. Clark's **Colonial Soldiers of the South, 1732-1774**, three Vaughans were found: Wm. Vaughan who served 59 days, Dec. 31, 1758 to Feb. 28, 1759, in Captain John Dagworg's Company of Maryland Troops, later transferred to a Captain Beall's Company, and subsequently deserted (p.78); Wm. Vaughan, clerk, listed on the Dec. 5, 1754 muster roll of Captain John Shine's Company, North Shore, Craven County, North Carolina (p.710); and John Vaughan, Serjeant, whose name appears on the 19 Feb. 1741 muster book for H M Ship Tilbury, Colonel Gooch's Regiment, dates of service 23 Jan. 1741 to June of 1742.
6
(CLARK, pp. 78, 710, 230) Obviously all three of these Vaughans were of a proper age to have been our William's father. What more can we learn about them?

Back To The Ships' Passenger Lists

If we may continue for a moment under the assumption that Nancy's John was Maryland John, and that William and this John were brothers, let us examine the ship's passenger lists for possible clues. The William who arrived in 1763 is one possibility, but would our William have been a "British Deportee"? This is possible, but not likely. The William who arrived in America in 1764 is a remote possibility, although I have a natural reluctance to admit to the possibility that our William came here as an indentured person or convicted felon. However, as Lewis Vaughan has reminded me, a number of individuals accepted involuntary servitude in this country to escape intolerable conditions at home. To understand this one has only to reflect on the sometimes bloody political history of the whole of Europe during the many centuries leading up to the colonization of America.

Thomas Wertenbaker and other historians acknowledge that many of Virginia's aristocracy had humble origins.
7 (SHAPING) Shaping of Colonial Virginia

It seems improbable that the John Vaughan who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1772 was William's brother, as this John was included in a shipload of indentured persons who arrived in Philadelphia, October 3, 1771 to October 5, 1773. Nancy's John was born in 1762, and was only 10 years of age.

If all of the foregoing appears to the reader to be useless and unproductive, at least we may have disposed of some unlikely prospects. Furthermore, the possibility always exists that some future researcher will find clues here that will ultimately lead to the full identity of our William Vaughan, assuming that our search does not lead us to a definitive answer before publication. Extensive as these passenger lists are, they are a mere drop in the bucket, as it were, compared to all of those indivduals who came to America during this same period with no surviving record of their arrival.

Of the Vaughans on the Filby passenger lists, those arriving in this country in the 1600s and early 1700s are among the most interesting to this researcher. There is a possibility that our William Vaughan - and John if he were William's brother - were sons of a father or grandsons of a grandfather who emigrated from Wales. The date of a father's arrival could have been anywhere from 1700 to 1770, and that of a grandfather even earlier. With this in mind, let us examine the names of persons on Filby's list who could be candidates as either William's father or grandfather. Virtually all of the early-arriving male Vaughans are potential candidates. They include 23-year-old John Vaghan who arrived in Virginia in 1619; the John Vaghan of the same age who came to Virginia in 1624 as a religious or political exile; Patrick Vaugh, an indentured person who arrived in Philadelphia in 1771;

Andrew Vaughan who sailed from Bristol to Virginia around 1654-1663 as one of the first settlers in the Colonies of North America; Christ Vaughan, a 1642 Virginia immigrant; Daniell Vaughan, one of the Bristol group; David Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1637; another David Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1663; a Davie Vaughan, age 18, who arrived in Virginia in 1635; Edward Vaughan, Virginia, 1748; another Edward Vaughan who arrived in Maryland or Virginia in 1728; Edwd. Vaughan, a Virginia emigre of 1644; Geo. Vaughan who entered Virginia in 1648; George Vaughan, one of a number of Middlesex deportees who arrived in America in 1740; George Vaughan who came to Maryland in 1736; George Vaughan who reached Virginia shores between 1654 and 1663; George Vaughan, Virginia, 1734; Henry Vaughan, among early Amelia County, Virginia colonists who arrived in Virginia in 1722; Hugh Vaughan who arrived at Nevis from Bristol around

1654-1663; James Vaughan who arrived at Rappahannock, Virginia in 1725 from London;

John Vaughan who came to Maryland in 1722 or 1725; John Vaughan, Pennsylvania, 1772; John Vaughan, with record of arrival in Virginia in 1636, 1637, and 1652; John Vaughan who departed Bristol and arrived in Virginia sometime during the period 1663-1679; John Vaughan, Virginia, 1642; Lewis Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1636; Patrick Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1635; Patrick Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1635 with early Irish immigrants; another Patrick Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1638; Richard Vaughan, a British deportee to America in 1761; Richard Vaughan, who came to Virginia around 1654-1663 with the Bristol group; Rowd Vaughan, Virginia, 1636; Rowland Vaughan who arrived in Virginia between 1663 and 1679; a 19-year-old Rowland Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1635; Symnon Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1651;

Tho. Vaughan, Virginia, 1653; Thom. Vaughan, Virginia, 1638; Thomas Vaughan who came to America in 1768; Thomas Vaughan, Virginia, 1654-1663; Willliam Vaughan who arrived in America in 1763; William Vaughan, 1764; William Vaughan who arrived in Connecticut between 1620 and 1650; William Vaughan, Virginia, 1654-1663; Wm. Vaughan, who reached his destination in western New Jersey in 1664; Xph. Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1655; Xtopher Vaughan, Virginia, 1652-53-54; Richard Vaughans, one of the Bristol group reaching Virginia between 1654 and 1663; David Vaughn, Virginia, 1707; or possibly even the Wm. Vaughn who arrived in South Carolina in 1728.

Any one of these - or none of these - could have been the first American male emigre ancestor of our William Vaughan. We shall examine the possibilities from the Welsh side of the story in our concluding chapter. In our search we should keep firmly in mind the fact that existing ships' passenger lists represent a small portion of the vast numbers of persons who emigrated to America from Great Britain during the two centuries with which we are most concerned. Unless we have more definitive information on the individual in question, we are not likely to blindly happen upon a record of his arrival.

From the ships' passenger lists we have at least two possible candidates as the Welsh emigre ancestor of Shadrach Vaughan. The reader should, of course, bear in mind that Shadrach is not at this point a proven kinsman of our William. However, we are interested in pursuing all possibile lines that might lead to more substantial clues as to our William's origins. Bear with us. John Vaughan who arrived in Virginia on three different occassions, according to Greer, may have been the John Vaughan whose pedigree was submitted by Mrs. Harry Vaughan as a possible line for Shadrach Vaughan. Greer gives 1636, 1637, and 1652 as three years of his arrival in this country. Presumably he could

have returned once more to settle here permanently in 1662, or the correct and final year of his emigration could well have been 1652 as errors occur quite frequently in dates as well as names. This John could just as easily have been an ancestor of our William. We simply do not know enough about either individual. Our Filby source book is #2772, **Early Virginia Immigrants, 1623-1666** by GREER, p. 337.

Another John Vaughan was said to have arrived in Virginia sometime between 1663 and 1679 as one of the "first settlers in the colonies of North America," according to Bristol. This Filby source book, #943, **Bristol and America: A record of the first settlers in the Colonies of North America, 1654-1685**, includes the names with places of origin of more than 10,000 servants to foreign plantations who sailed from the Port of Bristol to Virginia, Maryland, and other parts of the Atlantic Coast as well as the West Indies from 1654 to 1685. Again, the approximate year of arrival is right for the John Vaughan whose pedigree is given in our Figure 14.

More About Vaughans In Wales

Theophilus Jones' History of Brecknockshire provides us with numerous Vaughans who, for the most part, are interconnected if not ancestrally related to Moreiddig Warwin who married Elinor, daughter of the Lord Rhys, Prince of South Wales.[8] (BRECKNOCKSHIRE, p,419, Figure 10)

From this line came Sir Roger Vaughan of Bŕedwardine who married Gwladys Gam, parents of Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower. Except for individuals of known vintage, Jones' work leaves us with few clues as to years of births, marriages, and deaths. Because of this and the obvious genealogical difficulties implied, the reader is invited to conduct his own search and investigation of the Vaughans .of Brecknockshire, although we shall make some further speculative inferences before we conclude with our final chapter.

In examining Christian names of emigre Vaughans on Filby's passenger lists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we find some of the same names among those on one or more of Jones' pedigrees. There are, of course, numerous Johns, James, Thomases and Williams. Some interesting instances of identical Christian names occur in the case of Hugh (Figures 7,12), Rowland (Figures 7,8), and Lewis and William (Figure 9), all of whom appear on both lists. Edwd. Vaughan, a Virginia emigre of 1644 on one of the Filby lists, arrived at the proper time to have been the Edw. Vaughan listed in Figure 11 of Jones' pedigree for Roger Vaughan. This particular Edw. Vaughan married a daughter of Rhys Thomas of Llangonoyd and her Christian name is not given. Neither are dates made known to us in Jones' history; however, this Edw. Vaughan was eight generations removed from Sir Roger Vaughan which makes him at least a

contemporary of Filby's 1644 Virginia emigre. At this point, however, these occurences of identical Christian names can only be regarded as coincidental, although they may point us in a direction worthy of further research. Our problems are further compounded in that, although Jones provides us with valuable lineage he - like so many others - leaves out the names of other children in each generation.

Before we leave the subject of early-arriving Vaughans, at least two of the Rowland Vaughans on the Filby ships' passenger lists are of the proper age to have been related to Rowland Vaughan of the mid-1600s in Breconshire, Wales. Both Rowland Vaughan who arrived in Virginia between 1663 and 1679 and the 19-year-old Rowland Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1635 are of interest.

Hutchinson had some things to say about the flowery language used by Rowland Vaughan of the Bredwardine line in dedicating a book of his authorship to his kinsman, William Herbert, fourth Earl of Pembroke. The reference to the Bredwardine line and to his kinsman William Herbert clearly marks this Rowland Vaughan as a Vaughan of Tretower. Hutchinson contrasts Rowland's pretentious and fancy language with the restrained and modest demeanor of Henry Vaughan who, according to his biographer, "had a very sober regard for ancestral privilege; he does not undervalue it, but neither will he presume on it. It will dictate to him an inner code of honourable conduct, but not an arrogant outward behavior." [9] (HUTCHINSON, p.4)

One would devoutly wish a more special knowledge of the two immigrant Rowland Vaughans than that which is afforded through available records, but it is impossible to escape the feeling that, in the case of these two Rowland Vaughans, there is a strong possibility of kinship with the Rowland of Henry Vaughan's acquaintance.

Volume One of Sanders' book on Barbados Wills has at least two entries of possible interest to us. The first one concerns the death, burial, and probate of the Will of one Rowland Vaughan who was "...buried St. Lucy's Parish 29 Aug 1651, RB6/11, p.518; wf Mary Vauhan; dau Jane Vauhan; Catherine Viall, wf of Robert Viall; Ann Lewis, dau of Evan Lewis; God dau Joane Roach; Thomas Griffus' eldest son & dau; Capt. William Sandiford, Thomas Ware, Thomas Jones, & Evan Lewis - xtrs in trust, signed Rowland Vaughan; Wit: William (x) Jones, John (x) Griffin, Edward Vaughan. Proved 22 June 1652, Joseph Pickney." The author stated that abstracts of these materials generally contained the names of everyone in the household including servants and freed slaves. "Xtr" is meant to mean executors in trust. [10] (BARBADOS, p. 365)

In the same publication is the record of the probate of the Will of one James Tudor: "St. George's Parish, 10 Aug 1668, RB6/10, p.76. wf Margarett Tudor - estate in St. Georges & to maintain James Vaughan, son of Job Vaughan;

James Vaughan - 1/2 of estate after wf dies; Robert Vaughan, bro of James; Robert Bunn & John Vaughan - Overseers in trust. Signed James (x) Tudor; Wit: John Robson, John Rugg. Proved 1 Sept, Recorded circa 7-23 Sep 1668." Apparently we have here Vaughans related by marriage to Tudors, an interesting reversal of relationships that previously existed through the centuries in Wales where members of these two families traditionally were at odds. Of further interest here, of course, is the possible relationship of these Vaughans to Vaughans of Hallowell whose ancestor Samuel Vaughan had trade interests in Barbados, Jamaica, London, and Boston. [11] (ANNALS, p. 362)

Mrs. M. A. James, the records agent of the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, Dyfed (SY23 3BU CYMRU, Wales) provided some of the research which led to the discovery of the Jones material previously cited in this book. In addition, we were provided a list of the Brecon Probate Index for the years 1733-1782. This list of Vaughan wills shows the Christian name of the decedent at the left, the place of residence of the decendent, the date admitted to probate, and the name of the administrator or executor at the far right. All of the surnames of the deceased are Vaughan:

Rebecca	Skethrog	19 May 1738	Chas. Vaughan
Richard	Gladestry	14 June 1739	Elizth. V.
Evan, Esq.	Glascomb	26 March 1743	Evan Powell
Robert	Llanddewy	21 Apr 1749	Anne Vaughan
William	Llanvillo	18 Jan ?	Eliz. V.
William	Llanvrynach	27 Nov 1756	Chas. V.
John	Llanvillo	21 Jan 1781	John Forster
William	Talgarth	8 Apr 1738	Roger Vaughan
William	Brecon	19 July 1739	Mary V.
Edwd.	Cwmtoyddwr	4 May 1739	Jno. Price
Edwd.	St Harmons	17 Apr 1740	
John	St Harmons	6 Oct 1742	
Charles	Nantmel	14 Apr 1744	
Phillip	Clodock	19 July 1746	
Phillip	Llanvillo	9 Feb 1746	
Hugh	Llowes	12 March 1747	
Jonnet	Llanthetty	24 Apr 1750	
John	Nantmel	2 Aug 1751	
James	Llanigon	14 March 1753	
William	Brecon	17 Jan 1757	
William	Llanigon	11 Sept 1759	
Richard	Clirow	27 Feb 1762	

Additional entries in the record books of Brecon were noted by Ms. James, including the following:

NLW MS	7743E	Vaughan notes, wills etc, Monmouth
	38334C	"

3766 Vaughans, Bredwardine, Dunraven, Penbrey
7287D Vaughans, Corsygedol, Merioneth
7730E Vaughans, Courtfield, Monmouth
p.446 Vaughans, Golden Grove
6173 Vaughans, Hendwrt, Dolgellau, Meir
4965E Vaughans, Hengwrt, Rug, County Meir
7751E Vaughans, Porthaml, County Brecon
1592E Vaughans, Corsygedol, History (1770)
8716D Vaughans, Plasgwyn, Llandyfaelog, Golden Grove, County Carmarthen
1595E Vaughan, Sir William, poet, colonial
folio-165 pioneer. Petition by Sir William Vaughan and others re Newfoundland fisheries, seventeenth century.

Obviously a search of these probate and other entries could provide some useful information, as for example the names of heirs named William and John Vaughan, or heirs of the same name who were left without an inheritance and who therefore went out to find their own way in America. However, even here it should be noted that these records pertain only to those Vaughans who died during the period 1733-1782 and/or whose wills were probated at that time within the County of Brecon. As we have seen, Vaughans of Tretower had by this time scattered to the winds, and were to be found in other parts of Wales, in England, and in America. Again, however, this is not to say that a search of these records might not prove helpful.

What about Fereby's Bentons and Looneys?

We examined Filby's Volume 2 for Looneys and found only three, two of whom were female, and all three many years younger than Fereby. These three were Ellen Looney, age 22, who arrived at Boston Harbor in 1849, source book #5328 (MASS), p.58; James Looney, 60, Boston, 1849 and 1850, the same source book, p.59; and Margaret Looney who came to Pennsylvania in 1772, source book #7207 (RECORD IND), p.156.[12] (FILBY-2)

As to Bentons, Filby's Volume-1 lists thirty-one persons with the Benton surname although some are obviously duplications, possibly reflecting uncertainty on the part of the chronicler as to the exact year of arrival for some individuals. These listings for the surname Benton include the following:

Abigail, Virginia, 1642, #2772, p.31; Alice, Virginia, 1642, #2772, p.31; Andrew, New England, 1620-1650, #275, p.39; Ann, America, 1766, #1222, p.22; Cunningham, Virginia, 1654, #2772, p.31; Geo., age 23, New York, 1822, #9268, p.130; George, Barbados, 1669, #1223, p.14; H. B., San Francisco, 1850, #7156, p.154; Hugh, age 21, New York, 1820, #9258, p.244; Isabell, Virginia, 1642, #2772, p.31; Jane,

age 25, New York, 1822, #9268, p.130; Joane, Virginia, 1642, #2772, p.31; John, America, 1722, #1223, p.14; John, America, 1756, #1222, p.22; John, Annapolis, Md., 1722, #1223, p.12; John, Philadelphia, 1834, 1844, 1854, #9291, p.107; John, Virginia, 1635, 1642, 1650, #2772, p.31; John, New York, 1820, #9258, p.244; Peter, New York, 1822, #9268, p.130; Robert, Philadelphia, 1858, #9291, p.107; Robert, age 18, Virginia, 1635, #3283, p.115, and #9151, p.94; Samuel, age 19, New York, 1820, #9258, p.243; T., San Francisco, 1861, #7156, p.160; Thomas, Philadelphia, 1832, #9291, p.107; Thos., Virginia, 1635, #2772, p.31; and William, Philadelphia, 1842, #9291, p.107. [13] (FILBY-1)

Could any of these male Bentons have been Fereby's father or grandfather? Age-wise, we have these as potential candidates for the father of Fereby Benton Vaughan: The John Benton who came to America in 1722 as a deportee from London; John who came here in 1756, a deportee from Middlesex; or John who arrived at Annapolis, Maryland in 1722, a deportee from London.

Which of these Bentons was of the proper age to have been Fereby Benton's grandfather? Could he have been Andrew Benton who arrived in New England between 1620 and 1650, as chronicled in the topographical dictionary of English Emigrants to New England by Charles Edward Banks; Cunningham Benton who came to Virginia in 1654 as one of Greer's "Early Virginia Immigrants"; George who was among the deportees to Barbados in 1669; John who reached Virginia in either 1635, 1642, or 1650, (possibly in all 3 years), as another early Virginian in Greer's chronicle; Robert, age 18, who came to Virginia in 1635 and whose name is included among those in Hotten's compilation of "quality emmigrants" of 1600-1700; Thos. who arrived in Virginia in 1635; or could Fereby's grandfather have been one of the early John Bentons? At this time I leave that particular puzzle for some other genealogical sleuth to unravel.

Checking Other Sources

An examination of a representative assortment of various and sundry genealogical source books added very little to our search. Of course, there is always that outside chance that we may have missed something that someone else will glean from our oversight. The Genealogical Publishing Company's reprint of Hamlin's 3-volume **They Went Thataway** has these Vaughan entries:

Volume 1: John Vaughan, p.15, "Grayson County, Virginia Deed Book 7, page 118- Indenture dated 27 April 1835 in which Churchill Jones, formerly of the County of Grayson, State of Virginia but now of the State of Missouri, by his attorney in fact, Ezra Nuckolls, sells to John Vaughan, a tract of land in Grayson County, Va., containing by estimate 800 acres, etc." [14] (HAMLIN, V.1,p.15)

Volume 1: John Vaughan, p.35, "Amelia County, Virginia, Deed Book 20, page 106- 24 March 1788 - Indenture in which Jesse Featherstone of State of North Carolina, County of Lincoln, and Richard Featherstone, Burrell Featherstone, Charles Featherstone, John Vaughn and Lucy, his wife, Lew Clark and Elizabeth, his wife, and Jeremiah Stell of County of Amelia, State of Virginia, of the one part sell to Peter Bland of the latter state and county of the other part - for 124 pds 10 shillings - a tract of land in County of Amelia containing 166 acres adjoining land of said Bland, Robert Jones, Henry Clay (now William Featherstone's) on Leath's Creek, etc." This transfer was proved 25 September 1788 and recorded 27 August 1793 and on the same date the same parties sold 50 acres in Amelia County to Richard Dennis.[15] (HAMLIN, V.1, p.35)

Volume 1: John Vaughan, p.43, "Amelia County, Virginia, Deed Book 20, page 106- 24 March 1788:" This entry repeats the particulars concerning the sale of the 166 acres to Peter Bland of Amelia County.

Volume 1: George Vaughan, Jr., p.45, "Nelson County, Virginia, Will Book E, page 21." The Will of Rowland Edmunds of Nelson County, probated 26 September 1836, leaves slaves to sons and daughters including "son-in-law George Vaughan Jr., and his wife, my daughter Polly Clough Vaughan."

Volume 1: William Vaughan, p.16, "Surry County, Virginia, Orders, Wills, Deeds (1684-1686) - (Trans.) page 88 - 28 November 1685 - Power of Attorney of William Vaughan of Portsmouth in the Province of New Hampshire in New England, Merchant to his trusty friend, Mr. George Jeffery, of Portsmouth aforesaid, Merchant, to recover, receive, and collect all debts due him in Virginia or Maryland, etc. Witnesses: Thomas Wills, Nicholas Miller, John Wakcome (?). Recorded 3 June 1686, Surry County, Virginia."[16] (HAMLIN, V.1, p.16)

Volume 1: William Vaughan, p.30, "Grayson County, Virginia Deed Book 5, page 6 - Indenture dated 29 October 1824 in which Arthur Fulton and Naomi, his wife, of Ray (Rhea) County, State of Tennessee, sell to Minitree Jones Junior, all and every part of their interest in the land of which their father (Minitree Jones Senior) died siezed - which lot descended to the said Arthur Fulton and Naomi, his wife, by the death of her father, etc. Witnesses: A. Jones, William Vaughan, James Fulton."[17] (HAMLIN, V.1, p.30)

Volume 2: James Vaughan, p.2, "Caroline County, Virginia, Order Book (1732-1740) page 400 - Proof of Importations - 11 February 1736 - James Vaughan made oath that this is the first time of proving his right for his importation into this colony and that he assigned the same over to Richard Taliaferro, Gent."[18] (HAMLIN, V.2, p.2)

Volume 2: On page 25 there is an entry stating that a John J. Vaughan, along with Belford Stiles, served as a witness to the marriage of William Stiles of Petersburg,

Virginia, and Sarah Jenkins of Warrenton, North Carolina, at Petersburg, 21 December, 1843.

Volume 2: On page 75 Hamlin has repeated an entry regarding Reuben Vaughan (1740-1808), a Captain in the Virginia Militia from 1777 to the close of the war.

Volume 3: There are two Vaughan entries in this portion of Hamlin's books, the first for Andrew Vaughan (p.14), age 25, born in Virginia, enlisted from Belhaven in the Company of Captain Joshua Lewis, from a 13 July 1756 roll. The second entry is for a Gist Vaughan (p.7) age 21, born in Maryland, enlisted from Baltimore in the Company of Christopher Gist, from a roll dated 13 July 1756." These men were enlisted during the English expedition against the French in 1755-56.[19] (HAMLIN, V.2/3)

William Clemen's book on **American Marriage Records Before 1699** contains only one Vaughan entry, that of George Vaughan who married Mary Belcher on the eighth of December 1698 in Boston, Massachusetts. There are no Looneys, but two Bentons are found: Mary, who married Samuel Thorpe on the sixth of December 1666 at Wallingford, Connecticutt, and Sarah, who married Thomas Wright on the ninth of December 1673 in Guilford, Connecticutt.[18] (CLEMENS, pp.220,36)

Other early New England Vaughans are dealt with at some length in the genealogical record of the **Vaughan Family of New Hampshire** by George E. Hodgdon. Included in Hodgdon's book are pedigree charts of Vaughans of Bredwardine and Vaughans of Tretower, showing the descent of Hodgdon's William thusly: from Sir Roger V to Sir Roger V II to Sir Roger V III to Watkin V to Sir William V to Sir Roger V who married Catherine Herbert to Roger V whose wife was Frances Somerset to Roger V who married Ann de la Hay to George V and Mary Boxall to William Vaughan who married Margraret Cutts. This latter William was said to have emigrated to New England "about the year 1664 (although the precise date is not known) and settled at Portsmouth, New Hampshire where he became an eminent merchant."

William died at Portsmouth 12 November 1719, aged 78 years. He and Margaret Cutts Vaughan had eight children: Eleanor (b 1669), Mary (b 1671), Cutt (b 1673), George (b 1676), Bridget (b 1678), Margaret (b 1680), Abigail 9b 1683), and Elizabeth (b 1686). Cutt died as a child in Barbadoes. George's first wife was Mary Belcher who died in 1699 from complications following the birth of a daughter who also died soon thereafter. This William Vaughan was appointed Lieutenant Governor of the Province of New Hampshire by King George the First, 18 July 1715, and he served as the Provincial Governor in 1716-17. His second wife, Elizabeth Eliot, bore him nine children, including three sons, William (1703), Eliot (1711), and George (1720). George died as a child. William followed in his father's business as a merchant for a time before venturing out on his own "accompanied by a few hardy adventurers from the

neighboring towns and formed a settlement at a place called Camariscotta, about 14 miles below Fort Pemaquid." An intrepid traveller and explorer, he never married and died in London in December of 1746.

Eliot married Anna Gerrish in 1738. They had seven children, including a son William, born 13 March 1745, who would have been a contemporary of our William, a son George (1747), and a son Eliot (1755) who died as a child.[19] (HODGDON, pp. 1-31)

A quick perusal of William Whitmore's **PORT ARRIVALS AND IMMIGRANTS TO THE CITY OF BOSTON, 1715-1716 and 1762-1769** is another "shot in the dark" kind of thing, only rarely yielding anything of benefit to the researcher. There are no Bentons, Looneys, or Vaughans listed in Whitmore's book. I wish there were such a compilation for both the ports of Boston and Philadelphia for the years intervening; ie: 1717-1761. It would not surprise me in the least to learn that our William Vaughan's father arrived during the earlier period, say 1717-1740, or that William himself came here as a child through one of those two ports of entry. All of this, of course, is the purest sort of speculation on my part.

Chapter Eleven

The Welsh Possibilities: OUR CONCLUSIONS

In this concluding chapter, we make one last effort to narrow the focus of our search for the ancestors of William Vaughan (1750-1840) and his beginnings in America. Bear with us. If we continue to fail in this noble endeavor we may point the way for someone more adept in genealogical sleuthing to unravel the William Vaughan mystery. Or it may at least be said that we have found and profiled a goodly number of Welsh Vaughans with varying degrees of blooded relationships to Vaughans of Bredwardine and Tretower from whom, I am convinced, our William Vaughan and a great many other American Vaughans, are descended. And that is no small achievement. Should the reader succeed where we have failed, the author would like very much to hear the details of that triumph. It is entirely possible that most of the clues are already in place, buried somewhere deep within this very book.

The reader of this final chapter may be somewhat taken aback by its speculative nature. By way of rationalizing and justifying our far-ranging extrapolations it should be noted that we have to this point struck out, as it were, in virtually every effort to locate any hard evidence of William Vaughan's initial arrival in America. Although neither this nor any other such search can claim to have been perfect, ours was nonetheless a rather extensive one which failed to turn up anything pertaining to an emigre William Vaughan who could be identified as our William.

At this point we are left with at least two tentative conclusions: (1) William Vaughan or his father slipped into this country unheralded and, to this point at least, we have failed to find documentary evidence of the arrival of either of them; or, (2) William Vaughan was, like several other Vaughans both here and in Wales, a Vaughan of uncertain parentage, perhaps even a child born out of wedlock, but a "descendant of Vaughan of Tretower" nonetheless. There are other interesting possibilities, but one must at least acknowledge these two. With this prologue, perhaps the reader will better understand the speculative nature of this final chapter, for that is all that appears to remain for us to do; ie: to venture down every possible avenue that seems to offer a ray of hope. At some future date, if the true identity of our William's father is discovered the reader of this material will be aware of the nature of our quest and the scarcity of clues available to us at the time of this writing.

Diana Vaughan's Version of the Life of Thomas Vaughan (1621-1666)

For a variety of reasons which should be apparent to the reader we devoted an entire chapter to Thomas Vaughan (1621-1666), twin brother of Henry Vaughan, The Silurist. Foremost among those reasons was the imaginative tale supposedly told by Diana Vaughan at the close of the nineteenth century concerning her avowed ancestor Thomas Vaughan who, she said, was her great-great-great grandfather. She said that the fanciful tales she repeated in her manuscript were told to her by her father and her uncle who were reputed to have been intimate friends of Albert Pike. She said that her grandfather was James Vaughan "of Boston." I can find no name that she may have given for her father. Her stories were set down in a manuscript said to be ready for publication in 1896, the year that E. K. Chambers published his two-volume edition of Henry Vaughan's poetry.

Once more the reader may ask why one would choose to devote time and attention to strange and unproved matters such as those which may have involved the real Thomas Vaughan and a possibly apocryphal alter ego. Let me attempt to respond: First of all, I was fascinated and even astounded by the tales told by Diana as re-told by E. K. Chambers but, putting this aside for the moment, I do not wish to leave any possibility unexplored. While I do not believe that Diana's Thomas was our Thomas and Henry's twin brother, there were enough similarities in their backgrounds to suggest that Diana (or others) may have chosen him as their model and built their story around him; furthermore, her story may have grains of truth that could lead us to a better understanding of the real Thomas. There are several scenarios which the Diana Vaughan/Thomas Vaughan saga would suggest to any imaginative student of the William and Fereby mystery, including this writer, and I would be less than candid if I did not share at least a few of them. Before considering these possibilities the reader may wish to re-read the chapter dealing with Thomas Vaughan. Then, hopefully, what follows will be kept in proper perspective, and each comment will be viewed as nothing more nor less than a remote but still quite real possibility. Here are some of those possibilities:

(1) Upon his dismissal as Rector of Llansantffraed, Thomas Vaughan became embittered and turned away from the church to devote the rest of his life to the study of chemistry and mysticism.

(2) He fell under the influence of Moray (Murray), and Kem, and quite possibly became seriously involved in matters of the occult.

(3) He may indeed have journeyed to America where he met Starkey and others who further influenced him in the direction of mysticism, either within or without the formal strictures of a fraternal order.

(4) He experimented with the occult, possibly visited and mated with an American Indian woman, whether or not she was as Diana Vaughan named her, Venus-Astarte, and fathered a child, possibly Diane Wulisso-Waghan who was then brought up by the Lenni-Lennaps, another name for the tribe of Indians we knew as the Delaware.

(5) The transcendental and mystical stories related by Miss Vaughan were the outgrowth of experimention by Thomas Vaughan and his associates and resulted from hallucinatory states that came from those experiments with chemicals of unknown power and consequence.

(6) The experiences of the experimenters were compounded and elaborated into the fanciful tales either with or without the knowledge of Thomas Vaughan. Whatever the extent of his adventures, there appears to be adequate proof that Thomas Vaughan did indeed venture into chemical experimentations - one of which caused his death - and into matters involving the occult.

(7) In view of the controversial nature of his twin brother's activities, Henry Vaughan felt compelled to provide some sort of "cover" and he thus chose to relate to Anthony Wood an account only of those writings and activities which seemed to him to be worthy of his brother's name.

(8) Influenced at least in part by the mystical and occult matters into which his brother became involved, Henry chose to turn away from secular verse and, thereafter, devoted himself solely to the creation of sacred poetry.

(9) Finally, we have a rather far-fetched scenario in which we must assume a grain of truth in at least the alleged North American adventure of Thomas Vaughan and the union with Venus-Astarte in the person of a Lenni-Lennap Indian maiden.

Could this have been the beginning of our line of Vaughans in America? A daughter, Diane Wuliso-Waghan, is said to have mated with a Lenni-Lennap and, according to James of Boston who was purportedly the grandfather of the controversial Diana Vaughan, a son from that union took the name Vaughan as his family name.

In the northwest Arkansas branch of our family there is the tradition that either Fereby's William or "Old William" got his trade goods in Boston and subsequently referred to anything that was big as "Boston." This story was advanced chiefly through Cora Call who referred to Old William as William Patrick who, she said, named the Boston Mountains in Arkansas. Diana's grandfather James was "of Boston."

If this should prove to be the case, Fereby's William or his father could have been the son of a son born to the daughter of Thomas Vaughan and the Indian maiden whom Miss Diana Vaughan referred to as Venus-Astarte. Fereby's William somehow seems to have had a knowledge of and a proclivity for associating with American Indians, and this kind of family background would surely be in keeping with that aspect of the traditional accounts of his life.

Of course, this runs contrariwise to an earlier opinion of mine in which I suggested that, if William had been part Indian he would have made that fact known to his children and grandchildren, just as his wife Fereby had done. On the other hand, perhaps not. The more one ponders this matter, the more likely the prospect that William himself was indeed part Indian. His wandering and reclusive ways point in that direction. And, when I found the evidence of a land sale in White County, Tennessee in 1821 in which a William P. Vaughan affixed his mark, indicating that he probably was capable of neither reading nor writing, then I must admit that I immediately began to speculate on the odds that this William P. may or may not have been our William's father.

The time and place matched up somewhat with the scenario set down by Cora Call. This could have been William Patrick, Old William, returning with his wife to their native Tennessee to settle their affairs just as Call suggested they had done. This is a remote possiblity, you understand, and nothing more. Indeed, there are other possible links which are certainly less fanciful than this, and I shall attempt to suggest a few before we ring down the curtain on this book.

One further thought concerning Diana Vaughan: E. K. Chambers who was her contemporary, was moved to remark, "No one appears to have seen Miss Vaughan, and she is alleged to be in hiding in some convent from the vengeance of the Luciferians."

Concerning Thomas Vaughan's alleged mating with "the demon" Venus-Astarte among the Lenni-Lennaps, Diana Vaughan herself admitted that others believed this to be based on something other than fact. "'This legend (she said) is not accepted by all the Elect Mages; there are those who regard it as fabricated by my grandfather James of Boston, who was, they believe, of Delaware origin, or, at any rate, a half-breed; and they even assert that, in the desire to Anglicize himself, he invented an entirely false genealogy, by way of justifying his change of the Lennap name Waghan into Vaughan.'"

With regard to the matter just discussed, this writer is moved to wonder if we have in this a glimmer of truth, a cover-up, as it were, of a true story involving Thomas Vaughan who did indeed visit America where he met and could have mated with a Delaware Indian maiden whose tribesmen were then known as the Lenni-Lennap. The longer William's American origins remain hidden from us, the more one is moved to this sort of conjecture as a possible scenario involving, if not Thomas Vaughan then, perhaps another son of Vaughan of Tretowèr. Although Fereby spoke to her children and grandchildren of her Indian background, apparently William did not speak at all about his family other than to relate stories about his Welsh family of old of whom he and his sons and grandsons were extremely proud. Was there something in that background that he preferred to hide from others - possibly the sort of scenario we have painted in this paragraph?

We devoutly pray that the reader and Almighty God will forgive us for any seeming indiscretion on our part in writing about the fanciful tales told by Diana Vaughan for no one of any standing believes that they involved our Thomas Vaughan but, rather, were mere fabrications perhaps modeled on some aspects of his life. And, although we have only touched on the religious aspects of the lives of our Vaughans, the reader surely must surmise that, for the most part, our Vaughans were as religious and circumspect as most families of any standing. They began in Wales mostly as supporters of the Crown and the Church of England, although a few were recussants who reverted to Catholicism. During the Puritan uprising most Vaughans stood firmly on the side of the traditional Church. Many of their number who came to America at that time became members of the Episcopal Church. A few of the Vaughans who settled in New England became Puritans and later Congregationalists, while those who settled in Virginia and the south were predominantly Baptist although all faiths are represented in this family, including Methodists and Presbyterians.

Meanwhile, to all the genealogists in our midst who are dedicated to pure research and who may be appalled by such speculation, I urge you to try to bear with us.

We are still striving mightily for the truth but, we honor the possibilities that lie just over the horizon, sometimes cloaked in myth and legend. Be tolerant of our explorations of these byways. You who have the patience to endure countless hours poring over records, searching for names and dates, should have no difficulty abiding these fancies. After all, our quest is for the truth wherever we may find it. To anyone who desires to proceed further in search of our William's beginnings in America, let me suggest that there are enough documented facts in this book to provide any number of solid bases for new investigative beginnings. To any reader who may be tempted to inquire

further into the Thomas and Diana Vaughan matter - and it would be an intriguing subject for someone's doctoral dissertation - two principal sources of information would be Miss Vaughan's manuscript, and A. E. Waite's **Devil Worship in France.**

We continue now to review the lives of other male Vaughans who may have been related to our William Vaughan. Although facts are known about some of these Vaughans which would preclude their having any contemporaneous connection with our William, many of them traced their lineage back to Vaughans of Tretower and Bredwardine or, more recently, to Golden Grove, Monmouth, or Carmarthenshire and are, therefore, related at some distant point in the past to our Vaughans. Although some had documented issue, others, like Welsh Vaughans of old, produced both male and female offspring who went forth into this life with little or no record of their arrival or departure. It may be our sad fortune to be among these, the descendants of an unheralded son of Vaughan of Tretower who shall be forever nameless. However, we should take heart - and in most cases even pride - in all of the interesting Vaughans with whom we are probably related. And, who knows, perhaps someone will be able at some future date to find that certain male Vaughan descendant of Tretower who emigrated to America.

Vaughans of Hallowell

While it is a matter of record that Vaughans of Hallowell were descendants of Vaughan of Tretower, it is obvious that their socio-economic circumstances were of an order considerably above those of our William Vaughan who went out into the American wilderness to make his way, apparently with little or no assistance from family members. One should bear in mind, however, that only a very small percent of all families both here and abroad enjoyed the good fortune of having their economic needs satisfied through family inheritance. And even families who were well off had members who went their own separate ways. I have also noticed and I am moved to remark upon what I perceive to be vestiges of the old social caste system in our society even today. We still cling to the idea that once a Brahmin, always a Brahmin, and often continue to act as though there is some sort of line dividing **them** and **us**, a line that is never to be crossed. Yet there is and always has been a degree of social mobility in every society. The fortunes of a family could, and often did change within a single generation. There is ample evidence that this has been the situation as regards countless numbers of descendants of Vaughan of Tretower over the past five centuries. We return now to a reconsideration of Vaughans of Hallowell beginning with Benjamin. Our principal reason for being more than ordinarily interested in this particular Vaughan family has

to do with their time and place of arrival in America, and the nature of their family business.

Samuel Vaughan, a prosperous merchant with holdings in London and the West Indies, married Sarah Hallowell, daughter of Benjamin Hallowell of Boston where Samuel and his sons established and maintained a mercantile business. Their permanent home was located north of Boston at Hallowell on the banks of the Kennebec River in present-day Maine. Their first-born, Benjamin Vaughan (1751-1835) has been described as "politician and political economist, born in Jamaica on 19 April 1751...William Vaughan (1752-1830) [q.v.] was his younger brother..."

As we have seen, the biographical material on Benjamin Vaughan is quite extensive, detailing his activities as a private secretary to Lord Shelburne and (in 1790) in Paris with Lord Wycombe, Shelburne's son. He was introduced to Benjamin Franklin and in 1779 issued the first collective edition of Franklin's works in London. "In June 1782 he was sent to Paris to give private assurances to Franklin that the death of Lord Rockingham and the accession to power of Lord Shelburne had caused no change of policy in regard to the intention of recognising the independence of the United Colones." In 1798 he retired to America where he is said to have "joined his brothers and his relatives on the side of his mother at Hallowell..."

William Vaughan of Hallowell (1752-1850), the second son of Samuel and Sarah Hollowell Vaughan of Boston, is also described in the Crickhowell biographies as a merchant as well as an author. Educated at Newcome's School at Hackney and at the academy at Warrington in Lancashire, he devoted himself to his father's mercantile business, was elected in 1783 a director of the Royal Exchange Assurance Corporation and he continued in various capactities including that of governor of that organization until 1829. From 1793 to 1797 he published a series of studies and became an authority on docks and other maritime matters. Although his whereabouts during his declining years are little noted, we assume that he continued to reside in or near London.

The Vaughan estate at Hallowell was located in the town of that name on the western bank of the Kennebec River just south of Augusta in the present-day state of Maine. It was at this time a part of what would soon become Massachusetts and later, Maine. Obviously this William Vaughan was not our William, although the two were contemporaries and, as we have noted, may have been simultaneously in Boston.

Although, as we have previously acknowledged, there were probably vast socio-economic differences in the families of the two William Vaughans, the presence of these Vaughans in Boston, at Hallowell, and along the eastern seaboard at the same time that our William was doing his thing a bit farther south gives rise to other questions: Did Benjamin and William Vaughan of Hallowell have a poorer kinsman - another

William Vaughan, perhaps our William Vaughan - who learned the mercantile business from these more affluent Vaughans in Boston where he might possibly have obtained his trade goods? Admittedly this is rather far fetched yet, if we are sincere in our search for the truth, we will not rule out any possibility no matter how remote. At this point I am inclined to feel that our William or his father entered the United States at a northern port, possibly Boston or Philadelphia, and that he (or they) lingered there some time before proceeding south into Maryland and Virginia. This, of course, is pure speculation on my part, based solely on an intuitive feeling and nothing more.

Rowland Vaughan (1600-1680) and His Four Sons

We learned something of Rowland Vaughan (1600-1680), the Welsh writer and son and heir of John Vaughan of Caer Gai, Merionethshire. He is said to have served as sheriff of his county in 1613 and again in 1620. Born around 1600, he came into possession of Caer Gai in 1629 upon the death of his father. He apparently spent his entire life in Wales and England where he was recognized as an accomplished writer. His loyalty to the crown during the civil war resulted in the burning of his house at Caer Gai in 1645. His estate was turned over to a kinsman and he was imprisoned in 1650 but only briefly as he is listed as a grandjuryman in Merionethshire two years later. The Vaughan estates at Caer Gai and Coed Pryag ultimately passed to the Wynnstay family.

Rowland and his wife, Jane Price Vaughan, had four sons, John, Edward, Arthur, and Gabriel. They, in turn, had issue, which obviously provides further open-ended possibilities for genealogical research. The Christian name of Rowland was said to have been repeated in later generations and, as we have learned, that name appears on one of Filby's lists of immigrants as do the names John and Edward. Could these descendants of John Vaughan of Caer Gai have sired our William's father?

At least two of the Rowland Vaughans on the Filby ships' passenger lists were of the proper age to have been related to Rowland Vaughan of the mid-1600s in Breconshire, Wales. Both Rowland Vaughan who arrived in Virginia between 1663 and 1679 and the 19-year-old Rowland Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1635 would be of interest to us. Hutchinson contrasted the flowery language of Rowland Vaughan when he dedicated a book to his kinsmen, William Herbert, with the more subdued and modest prose of his blood relative, Henry Vaughan, The Silurist.

Rowland's reference to the Bredwardine line and to his kinsman William Herbert clearly marks him as one of us, a Vaughan of Tretower.

In the case of the two Rowland Vaughans on the ships' passenger lists, there would appear to be a strong

possibility that they are related to the Rowland of Henry Vaughan's acquaintance. And, of course, we are once more given to wonder who were the offspring of these two Rowland Vaughans and what happened to them following their arrival in America? Three Edward Vaughans are on the Filby ships' lists: Edward Vaughan who arrived America in 1748, source book #1223 (COLDHAM-2), p.152; Edward Vaughan who arrived in Maryland or Virginia in 1728, source book #1222 (COLDHAM-1), p.273; and Edward Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1644, source book #2772 (GREER), p.337.

We previously learned that Stephen Vaughan (ca 1490-1549) was probably educated at St. Paul's School in London where his father was a member of the Mercer's Company. Around 1520 he made the acquaintance of Thomas Cromwell for whom he later performed various services as a writer and merchant adventurer. In 1530 he became the agent of King Henry VIII in the Netherlands where his principal duty was to negotiate commercial loans. He became a valued friend of Cromwell, so valued in fact that Cromwell is said to have included him in his will. Twice married, Stephen Vaughan's first wife was Margery Gwynneth whose brother John later served as the executor of his estate. His second marriage was to Margery Brinclow, a marriage which took place in April of 1546 in Calais. His first wife produced two daughters and one son, Stephen II, who inherited his father's extensive real estate and who became the father of Sir Rowland Vaughan. We presently have no record of children by his second wife. Although Rowland Vaughan, son of Stephen Vaughan II, bears the same Christian name as Rowland of 1600-1680 whose father was John Vaughan of Caer Gai, the two lines were not believed to be directly related.

Filby lists several John Vaughans: John who arrived in Maryland in 1722 or 1725, source book #1222 (COLDHAM-1), p.273; John who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1772, source book #7207 (RECORD IND.), p. 150; John who arrived in Virginia in 1636, 1637, and 1652 source book #2772 (GREER), p. 337; John who arrived in Virginia sometime between 1663-1679, source book #943 (BRISTOL), p.134; and Jon who arrived in Virginia in 1642, source book #9151 (TEPPER), p.337.

Vaughans of Golden Grove

Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, descendant of Vaughans of Bredwardine and Tretower, had three to six sons, depending on which authority one chooses to accept. One son, John Vaughan, was said to have "acquired many Crown leases, including a number of former Dynevor lands." In addition to John and Henry, there was William, a writer of some repute whose works included **The Golden Grove** published in 1600, a book describing social and economic conditions in Wales. In many ways, this William Vaughan is one of the more interesting Vaughans of his time.

William Vaughan (1577-1641) was said to be a poet and colonial pioneer. The second son of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, William had at least two brothers, Sir Henry Vaughan (1587-1659) and the John Vaughan referred to in the preceding paragraph. Again it should be noted that the Glanmor Williams sources give the number of male sons born to Walter Vaughan as three, while the Crickhowell biographies refer to Sir Henry as "the sixth son of Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire."

Both William and John attended Jesus College at Oxford from 1591 to 1595, and again in 1597 when William was granted the M.A. degree. Although very little is found on the life of John or Henry, we have access to considerable information on the life and times of William. Following travel and study in France and Italy, he visited Vienna and completed work on the LL.D. which was conferred on him at Oxford in 1605. His wife was struck down and killed by lightning in 1608, a tragedy that others said marked him for the rest of his life. Two years later, King James I granted a large tract of land in Newfoundland to a group of colonizers from whom William Vaughan purchased a portion. Organizing his own colony of settlers, he set out for Newfoundland, determined to establish a new country which he chose to call Cambriol. In addition to this Welsh name, he named one settlement Vaughan's Cove, another Golden Grove, and others for Welsh counties. Although his colonizing effort failed, some of these names survive in Newfoundland to this day.

A copy of William Vaughan's **Cambrensium Caroleia**, written in celebration of the marriage of Charles I, is said to repose today in the British Museum. Another, perhaps better known work is his **Golden Fleece**, published in 1626 and described as "a compound of truth and fiction, of quaint prose and quainter verse." Written at least in part to promote William's idea that Newfoundland held out the promise of much happiness for those who would make it their home, early editions of the Encyclopaedia Brittanica heralded it as a worthwhile early contribution to English literature from America.

William of Golden Grove returned to England in 1630 to settle his personal affairs. As we have seen, he died at Torcoed in August of 1641, and was buried in Llangyndeyrn Churchyard. By his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of David ap Robert of Llangyndeyrn, he had one son, Francis, who died while still quite young. His second wife Anne, only child of John Christmas of Colchester, bore him five daughters and one son, Edward, who was admitted to Gray's Inn and later knighted at Oxford in 1643.

Anne died at age eighty-four, some thirty-one years after William's demise. She lies buried in St. Peters Church at Carmarthenshire where her monument and kneeling effigy remain to this day.

It would be interesting if we could learn more about Edward. It should also be noted that William spent some time in America during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. While we would not wish to demean anyone, living or dead, by suggesting anything so unseemly as sexual dalliance, one is moved to consider the possibility that there could have been other issue. Did Edward have any children? Could William have left one or more sons in Newfoundland?

The mere fact that historians disagree as to the number of sons born to Walter Vaughan of Golden Grove is enough to cause us to wonder if we may have in this family a direct ancestor of our William Vaughan. Walter's sixth son, Sir Henry Vaughan, is described in the Crickhowell biographies as a 'royalist soldier.' William (1577-1641) was his elder brother. Presumably there were four other brothers, including John and, according to Dwnn, one named Walter (of Llanelly). On this matter, as we have seen, neither the Crickhowell material nor that of Glanmor Williams sheds much light. Sir Henry served as sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1620 and as a Member of Parliament for Carmarthen from 1621 to 1629. Although he was knighted at Oxford on New Years Day in 1643, his attempt to return to parliament was thwarted by his opponents who charged him with placing 'scandalous ministers to serve six parrish churches.'

We are told that Sir Henry was probably released from prison around 1650. There is a portrait of him dated 1644 at Derwydd where he and his wife settled following their marriage around 1610. His wife, Sage, was the daughter and heiress of Derwydd, a house she inherited from her first husband, John Gwyn William. They had at least two sons, their eldest, John, who apparently died young, and Sir Henry Vaughan the Younger (1613-1676). The assertion that all of Walter Vaughan's sons except Sir Henry opposed the crown may cause some to remove this family from consideration as possible progenitors of our William. However, even Vaughans of Tretower sometimes switched political loyalties.

Sir Henry Vaughan and wife Elizabeth Herbert Vaughan had only one child, a daughter named Margaretta who died without issue in 1704. We may, therefore, remove this family from further consideration. Upon the death of Margaretta the estate fell to Sir Henry's nephew, Richard Vaughan of Derllys (1654-1724). Richard served as M.P. in fourteen parliaments (1685-1724) for the borough of Carmarthen.

The second Earl of Carbery, Richard Vaughan (1600-1686), the eldest son of John Vaughan, the first earl, of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire, was a son of John's first wife, Margaret Meyrick, daughter of Sir Gelly Meyrick [q.v.], whose family claimed descent from Bleddyn ab Cynvyn, prince of Powys.

A Member of Parliament for Carmarthenshire from 1624 to 1629, Richard was knighted at the coronation of Charles I in February of 1626. On the 25th of October in 1643 he was created an English peer as Baron Vaughan of Emlyn in Carmarthenshire. He also served as a lieutenant-general of the royal army in the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke. Married three times, his only surviving issue was by his second wife, Frances Altham Vaughan, daughter and co-heir of Sir John Altham of Oxbey, Herfordshire. Francis, the eldest son, married Rachel Wriothesley but he died in 1667 without issue. A second son, John (1640-1713) then became the third and final Earl of Carbery. If there were other sons, we presently have no record of them as we indicated when we introduced these personages in earlier chapters.

John Vaughan (1640-1713), the third and last Earl of Carbery, was the second son of Richard Vaughan (1600-1686), second Earl of Carbery who was the eldest son of John Vaughan, first Earl of Carbery and resident of Golden Grove, Carmarthenshire. This line of Vaughans, all earls of Carbery, are proven descendents of Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine and (thus) directly related to Vaughans of Tretower. This John Vaughan, the third earl, is yet another Vaughan who led an interesting life. Knighted in April of 1661, he sat as a Member of Parliament for the borough of Carmarthen from 1661 to 1679.

Appointed governor of Jamaica, he sailed there in December of 1674 accompanied by Henry Morgan, the bucaneer who had been made lieutenant-general of the island. A controversial person, we are now confronted with yet another set of interesting circumstances in that Benjamin and William Vaughan, whom we discussed previously, had interests in the same part of the world as this John Vaughan, but some one hundred years later. Their father, Samuel Vaughan, was described as a West Indian merchant and planter and one is moved to speculate on the familial relationships of these two sets of Vaughans. With regard to that possible relationship, I suspect that it can be rather easily proved, but we have no time to pursue the matter presently.

John Vaughan, the third earl, had three wives but no male heirs. His daughter and heiress, Anne, died without issue 20 September 1751, and she and her deceased husband left the John Vaughan estates to Anne's kinsman, John Vaughan of Torcoed. Torcoed is also the estate where William Vaughan (1577-1641) lived when his wife, who also bore the Christian name Anne, was struck and killed by lightning in 1608. William at times referred to Torcoed as Terra-Coed. He died at Torcoed in 1641. The John Vaughan of Torcoed to whom the third earl left that estate died in 1765. His grandson bequeathed the property in 1804 to his friend John Campbell.

William Vaughan (1641-1719)

We leave the descendants of Vaughan of Golden Grove at this time to consider other Vaughans, however, we should not assume that there was no familial relationship here. As we have seen, it is likely that most Vaughans of Welsh origins trace their Vaughan lineage back to a common ancestor. The William Vaughan we now turn to was born in Wales but grew up in London. He emigrated to New England, landing in Portsmouth, New Hampshire in 1666. On 18 September 1679 he became one of the councilors of that province, serving in that capacity until 1716. He died in 1719. Initially we knew nothing of any issue, and another source gave the birthdate as 1650. In our preceding chapter we determined that this William Vaughan was the ancestor of George E. Hodgdon.

Sir William Vaughan (1600-1649)

Another Sir William Vaughan, an early resident of Shropshire and Herefordshire, was royalist governor of Shrawardine Castle. He served as a general of Shropshire during the civil outbreak, and placed his minister brother James in command of his castle during his forays against the parliamentarians. Near the war's end, he is said to have gone over to The Hague where he took command of a ship and sailed for Ireland. He died in battle in 1649. Records show that a Charles Vaughan served as the administrator of his estate two years later. Once more we have no knowledge concerning any children. An examination of the probate order closing the estate could provide some information if such were available.

Yet another William Vaughan (1716-1780) served as a Jacobite soldier and Spanish officer. The third son of John Vaughan (1675-1752) of Courtfield, this William Vaughan married a Spanish lady, Donna Francesca. They had one daughter, Elizabeth, and a son, William (1740-1796) who succeeded to the Courtfield estate and continued the line. Two direct descendents are Cardinal Vaughan and Roger William Vaughan. Were there other children? And what of the descendants of these two? This William also had an elder brother, Richard, (b.1708), who fought during the Jacobite uprising.

As we acknowledged previously, we have virtually exhausted the available biographical data on William Vaughans of the period in which we are most interested and it is a certainty that none of them is the William Vaughan who married Fereby Benton. But what of their kinsmen? Two essential points that should remain uppermost in our minds are that William's father may have been the emigre rather than William himself and in many of the families we have discussed there were other male sons who could have been that father.

Sir John Vaughan (1728-1795)

Sir John Vaughan (1728-1795), youngest son of Wilmot Vaughan, third viscount of Lisburne, and Elizabeth Watson Vaughan, the eldest daughter of Thomas Watson of Berwick-on-Tweed, is another contemporary of our William, age-wise, but his life was spent in entirely different parts of the world. As we have previously noted the Crickhowell materials contain a rather serious and obvious error with regard to his age as the more likely year of his birth appears to have been 1728 rather than 1748.

Sir John entered the 52nd regiment of marines, later named the 9th regiment of Colonel Pawlett, on the 9th of April 1748. He made a career of the military, moving swiftly to the rank of colonel at the outbreak of the American Revolution. Upon being sent to America to serve under Lord Cornwallis, he was advanced to the rank of major general. He is said to have accompanied Major General Sir Henry Clinton on an expedition up the North River, commanding the attack on Fort Montgomery in October of 1777. It was said that his horse was shot from beneath him and that he then conducted the attack with great gallantry on foot.

Sir Henry Clinton issued orders on the 9th day of October honoring Vaughan. "Fort Montgomery," he said, "is henceforth to be distinguished by the name of Fort Vaughan, in memory of the intrepidity and noble perseverance which Major General Vaughan showed in the assault of it."

A member of the English Parliament for Berwick from 1774, Sir John Vaughan also sat in the Irish Parliament for St. Johnstown from 1776 until 1783. He was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general in 1782 and was created Knight of the Bath in 1792. He died at Martinique on the third of June 1795. He never married. Unless he had male issue out of wedlock who bore the Vaughan name, we can presumably remove his line from our list of potential progenitors of our William Vaughan.

Sir John Vaughan (1769-1839)

Sir John Vaughan (1769-1839), third son of James Vaughan, M.D. of Leicester, and Hester Smalley Vaughan, daughter of Leicester alderman John Smalley, was a judge. He had at least three brothers, Sir Henry Halford Vaughan [q.v.], Peter Vaughan, and Sir Charles Richard Vaughan. Educated at Rugby and Oxford, he was twice married, first in 1803 to Augusta Beauchamp, daughter of Henry Beauchamp, the twelfth baron St. John of Bletsho, and secondly in 1823 to Louisa Rouse-Broughton, eldest daughter of Sir Charles William Rouse-Broughton. By his first wife, he fathered Henry Halford Vaughan, another son, and four daughters. One son and one daughter were borne by his second wife. Who was this son? Did he have children?

Sir John Vaughan (1603-1674)

A Sir John Vaughan (1603-1674) who obviously is much younger than the Sir John Vaughan (1769-1839) of our preceding discussion, is given considerable space in the Crickhowell biographies. The eldest son of Edward Vaughan, he was born 13 September 1603 at Trawscoed, Cardiganshire which is said to have been the family's home since the thirteenth century. His mother, Letitia Stedman, was the daughter of John Stedman of Strata Florida Abbey in the same county. He was educated at King's School, Worcester, and Christ Church, Oxford and later became a wealthy lawyer and judge. He returned to his home borough of Cardigan around 1641, where he first sided with the Protestants but later switched loyalty back to the king. After retiring to Trawscoed, his home was plundered by roundheads on 26 January 1644-5." He is said to have saved himself from sequestration by rendering assistance to the parliamentary forces at the siege of Aberystwith Castle (1646).

Having proved his loyalty, he served the king at his request as one of his advisers in 1648, and was knighted in 1668. He sat for a time in 1669-70 as speaker of the House of Lords. He died at Serjeant's Inn on the tenth of December 1674. Although he and his wife probably had several children, we are presently aware of only one, a son Edward who is said to have edited some of his father's manuscripts. A portrait of Sir John which formerly hung in the Clarendon gallery was stolen. However, engraved portraits of him are in the British Museuem. Obviously Sir John's son Edward presents us with yet another opportunity for further genealogical investigation.

Vaughans of Earlier Vintage

As we noted previously, the first fact that is of interest to us regarding the life of Edward Vaughan (1450-1522) is the probable year of his birth, ca 1450, the year Sir Roger Vaughan took possession of Tretower Court and Castle. According to some historians Edward was a native of South Wales. Educated at Cambridge where he received his LL.D., he served in a variety of roles at St. Matthews on Friday Street in London, at Islington, St. Paul's, and St. David's where he has been assigned "the most prominent place among the prelates who occupied the see of St. David's during the closing days of the ante-reformation era."

Edward is credited with the building of the beautiful chapel at Saint David's which still bears his name, as well as those at Lamphey, Leland, St. Justinian, and Llawhaden Castle. He spent his declining years at Carew Castle near Lamphey where he died in November of 1522. His will of 1521 was proved the following year but we have no record of it's contents at this time. A plain marble tomb at Vaughan Chapel

in Lamphey was chosen to contain his remains, but a richly engraved brass effigy has long since vanished. Upon completing the chapel at Saint David's, he placed upon the walls three coats of arms - his own, those of Henry VII, and of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, the latter described as probably his patron.

Because of these three arms, we may be reasonably certain that he was descended from Vaughan of Tretower. There is no record of marriage or children although his will could perhaps give us some valuable clues.

Sir Griffith (Vychan) Vaughan (1387-1447), a Vaughan of even earlier vintage, is chronicled in the Crickhowell material. A son of Griffith ap Ieuan and his wife Maud, Griffith Vaughan - or Vychan, which probably was Fychan in an earlier version, meaning 'the younger' - inherited a taste for rebellion from his father, Griffith the elder who was implicated in the Glendower Rebellion in 1403, defending Caus Castle against the forces of Henry IV. His valorous deeds were celebrated in a poem by Lewys Glyn Cothi. Sir Griffith The Elder was a contemporary of the father of Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine.

Griffith the younger inherited lands in Burgedin, Treflydau, Garth, and Maesmawr, and he accompanied Henry V to France where he fought at Agincourt and was made a knight on 25 October 1415. Two years later he and his brother were rewarded for capturing Sir John Oldcastle who had intruded upon their ancestral estate at Broniarth. However, some thirty years later, he offended the queen, Margaret of Anjou, who pronounced him a rebel and set a price upon his head of five hundred marks. Henry de Grey, lord of Powys, in April of 1447, summoned Sir Griffith to the castle of Pool where he was beheaded 'without judge or jury.'

Sir Griffith Vaughan and his wife Margaret had three sons and three daughters. The eldest son was David Lloyd Vaughan of Leighton who was to become the ancestor of Lloyds of Marrington, Marton and Stockton. The second son was Cadwalader Vaughan, the ancestor of Lloyds of Maesmawr. The youngest of the sons, Reginald Vaughan, was the ancestor of Wynnes of Garth and of the Lloyds of Broniarth and Gaervawr. There is at present no known record of the further issue in succeeding generations, although all three of these male children are potential sources of genealogical clues.

Other Welsh Vaughans

The Thomas Vaughan (1413-1483) who was earlier described as "probably (the) youngest illegitimate son of Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower", spawned some very interesting possibilities. Our source urged the reader to carefully

distinguish him from the Thomas Vaughan of Hergst who was killed at Banbury in 1469, from the Sir Thomas Vaughan who was knighted for his action at Bosworth , and from a Thomas Vaughan who was master of ordnance in 1450.

This Thomas Vaughan is described as "a great warrior in the War of the Roses, taking the Yorkist side." He is said to have fought eighteen battles for Edward IV who, upon becoming king, made him a yeoman of the crown, a squire of the king's body, and treasurer of the king's chamber. The esteem in which King Edward IV held him is evident by his appointment of Thomas in 1471 as chamberlain and councillor to his son, the young Prince Edward. Knighted in 1475, Thomas was with the young prince at Ludlow when King Edward IV died. In the company of a retinue which included Rivers, Grey, and Haute, Thomas was met and taken captive by Richard and Buckingham at Stony Stratford while enroute to London. Tried and convicted of treasonous acts before the Earl of Northumberland, he was executed on 23 June 1483. He was buried in the chapel of St. John the Baptist at Westminster Abbey where a monument has been erected to his memory.

Married to Eleanor Arundel, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Thomas Arundel of Betchworth in Surrey, and widow of Sir Thomas Browne, under-treasurer of the household of Henry VI, they had a daughter, Anne who married Sir John Wogan, and a son Henry whose son, Sir Thomas, adopted the name of Parry.

Born at Nyffryn in Llyn, Carnarvonshire, Richard Vaughan (1550-1607) was the second son of Thomas ap Robert Vaughan whose wife was a member of the Griffin family. Educated at Saint John's College, Cambridge, he graduated B.A. (1573), M.A. (1577), and D.D. (1589). He served in a variety of positions including that of rector of Little Canfield (1580), archdeacon of Middlesex (1584), and, finally to the bishopric of London, an appointment made in 1604 by King James I. He died of apoplexy on the 30th day of March in 1607. Although an inscription to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral was destroyed in 1666, his portrait still may be seen in the University galleries at Oxford. Although he is said to have had three sons and six daughters, we presently have knowledge of only one of his children, Elizabeth who married Thomas Mallory, dean of Chester, and who was mother of Thomas Mallory II. What is there to learn concerning the three sons that just might be of interest to us?

The only son of Hywel Vychan ap Bruffyd ap Hywel and Margaret, second daughter of Edward Owen of Hengwrt, Robert Vaughan (1592-1667) matriculated at Oxford in December of 1612, he returned home without his degree and spent a good part of his life collecting Welsh manuscripts. Numbering in the hundreds, his collection has been preserved intact at Peniarth near Towyn. We presently know nothing more concerning Robert and his descendants, if any.

Rice Vaughan (1620-1672), a son and heir of Henry Vaughan of Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire, is described as a legal

writer. He was admitted to the practice of law at Gray's Inn on the thirteenth of August 1638. The author of numerous legal tracts, including **A Plea for the Common Laws of England** (1651), and **A Discourse of Coin and Coinage** (1675), he died in 1672 and little is known of his family.

Vaughans of Later Vintage

There are a great many Welsh and English Vaughans of later years whose lives we have touched on in previous chapters. Obviously, none of those born after our William would be of interest to us as his ancestors, but details concerning their ancestors may emerge, offering us clues to the matter with which we are most concerned. Accordingly, the serious Vaughan researcher may want to review the lives of the following:

Sir John Vaughan's younger brother, Sir Charles Richard Vaughan (1774-1849) was of a proper age to have been a contemporary of William and Fereby's first-born, Thomas Vaughan. Well educated, he made several trips to America from 1826 to 1830, reporting back to the king on affairs in the United States where he was on intimate terms with Henry Clay, among others. He died unmarried in his house on Hertford Street in Mayfair on the 15th of June in 1849.

Henry Halford Vaughan (1811-1885) apparently was the youngest son of Sir John Vaughan (1769-1839) and Augusta Beauchamp Vaughan: A professor of modern history, Henry won a chancellor's prize at Oxford in 1836 for his English essay, 'Effects of a National Taste for general and diffusive Reading'. After many years devoted to teaching and writing, Henry Halford Vaughan settled at Upton Castle, Pembrokeshire in 1867 where he died in 1885. His wife, Adeline Maria Jackson Vaughan, died in 1881. They had one son, W. W. Vaughan, who edited some of his father's Welsh verse, and four daughters.

Charles John Vaughan (1816-1897) was the second son born to Edward Thomas Vaughan, vicar of St. Martin's at Leicester, and Agnes Pares Vaughan. An outstanding scholar, he completed his B.A., M.A., and D.D. *per regias literas* at Cambridge. Ordained in 1841, he accepted the position of headmaster at Harrow in 1844. Resigning that post in 1859 after a distinguished career as an academician, he turned down the prestigious office of bishopric of Rochester, choosing instead to devote himself to the work of vicar of an ordinary town parrish at Doncaster. In 1869 he accepted the mastership of the Temple, and ten years later became dean of Llandaff. Although he published numerous religious works, he died in 1897 leaving a strict injunction that no life of him should be published. We have no record of marriage or children.

Although his Welsh parents were said to have belonged to the "established church", Robert Vaughan (1795-1868) became

a Congregationalist. Ordained by an independent church on Angel Street in Worcester, he accepted a call in March of 1825 to a church on Hornton Street in Kensington. He gained a reputation as an historical writer, having authored **Life and Opinions of John de Wycliffe** and **Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty**. In 1834 he was appointed to the chair of history in University College, London.

He succeeded to the presidency of Lancashire Independent College, however, in August of 1857 poor health led to his resignation of the presidency of that institution. He married Susanna Ryall of Melcombe Regis in Doreset in 1822 and they were said to have had "several children" although we have become aware of only two. Robert Alfred Vaughan [q.v.] was the eldest son. An unnamed eldest daughter married a Doctor Carl Buch, principal of the Government College at Bareilly, Upper India, who was murdered in 1857 at the outbreak of the Indian mutiny. Robert Vaughan died 15 June 1868 at Torquay where his remains are interred.

The eldest child of Robert Vaughan (1795-1868), Robert Alfred Vaughan (1823-1857) was born at Worcester on 18 March 1823. Described as a seven-month baby, he never enjoyed robust health, but he did manage to graduate in 1842 at age nineteen from London University. Following in his father's footsteps as a religious scholar, he became a nonconformist, turning to catholicism and eclectic literarure. Although he was at one time engaged to be married, there is no record of a marriage or children.

Roger William Bede Vaughan (1834-1883), the Catholic Archbishop of Sydney, was born at Courtfield near Ross in Herfordshire on the ninth day of January in 1834. He is described in the Crickhowell source as "the younger brother of Cardinal Vaughan, being the second son of Colonel John Francis Vaughan of Courtfield, by his first wife, Elizabeth Louisa, who was the daughter of John Rolls of the Hendre, Monmouthshire." There is no record of marriage or children.

Thomas Vaughan (1750-1820), the son of an unnamed lawyer, first obtained a position as clerk to the commissioner of peace for the city of Westminster. His interest in drama led to his writing several essays on the Richmond Theatre. In 1776 a farce which he authored entitled **Love's Metamorphoses** was produced at Drury Lane. He pursued a lifelong career as a dramatist with mixed success and we have no record concerning his parents.

Born in Norwich, Thomas Vaughan (1782-1843) was elected lay clerk of St. George's Chapel where his fine singing voice attracted the attention of George III. His father died when he was quite young and little is known concerning his parents and his early life. Celebrated as a singer with pure enunciation and intonation, Thomas and his wife, a soprano known as Miss Tenant of Drury Lane, separated after nine years of marriage. He died at a friend's house near

Birmingham on the ninth day of January 1843 and was buried in the west cloister of Westminster Abbey.

What did we learn from the ships' passenger lists?

In our preceding chapter we devoted considerable space to a search of ships' passenger lists in an effort to identify male Vaughans who were of the proper age to have been either Fereby's William or his father or grandfather. We see no reason to repeat any of that material here, since the reader can review that chapter at his leisure. However, let us at least glean what we can from our list of possibile candidates. As we previously stated, virtually all of the early-arriving male Vaughans are potential candidates as William's father or grandfather since at this time we really have no clues as to their Christian names. Let us look first at the early emigres. They include 23-year-old John Vaghan who arrived Virginia in 1619; the John Vaghan of the same age who came to Virginia in 1624 as a religious or political exile; and Patrick Vaugh, an indentured person who arrived in Philadelphia in 1771.

Then there was Andrew Vaughan who sailed from Bristol to Virginia around 1654-1663 as one of the first settlers in the Colonies of North America; Christ Vaughan, a 1642 Virginia immigrant; Daneill Vaughan, one of the Bristol group; David Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1637; another David Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1663; a Davie Vaughan, age 18, who arrived in Virginia in 1635; Edward Vaugnan, 1748; another Edward Vaughan who arrived in Maryland or Virginia in 1728; Edwd. Vaughan, a Virginia emigre of 1644; Geo. Vaughan who entered Virginia in 1648; George Vaughan, one of a number of Middlesex deportees who arrived in America in 1740; George Vaughan who came to Maryland in 1736; George Vaughan who reached Virginia shores between 1654 and 1663; George Vaughan, Virginia, 1734; Henry Vaughan, among early Amelia County, Virginia colonists who arrived in Virginia in 1722; Hugh Vaughan who arrived at Nevis from Bristol around 1654-1663; and James Vaughan who arrived at Rappahannock, Virginia in 1725 from London.

There was a John Vaughan who came to Maryland in 1722 or 1725; John Vaughan, emigre to Pennsylvania, 1772; John Vaughan, who arrived in Virginia in 1636, 1637, and 1652; John Vaughan who departed Bristol and arrived in Virginia sometime during the period 1663-1679; John Vaughan, Virginia, 1642; Lewis Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1636; Patrick Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1635; Patrick Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1635 with early Irish immigrants; another Patrick Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1638; Richard Vaughan, a British deportee to America in 1761; Richard Vaughan, who came to Virginia around 1654-1663 with the Bristol group; Rowd Vaughan, Virginia, 1636; Rowland Vaughan who arrived in Virginia between 1663 and

1679; A 19-year-old Rowland Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1635; and Symnon Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1651;

Continuing our review, there was a Vaughan listed as Tho. Vaughan who came to Virginia in 1653; a Thom. Vaughan who reached Virginia in 1638; Thomas Vaughan who came to America in 1768; Thomas Vaughan, Virginia, 1654-1663; William Vaughan who arrived in America in 1763; William Vaughan, 1764; William Vaughan who arrived in Connecticut between 1620 and 1650; William Vaughan, Virginia, 1654-1663; Wm. Vaughan, who came into western New Jersey in 1664; Xph. Vaughan who arrived in Virginia in 1655; Xtopher Vaughan, Virginia, 1652-53-54; Richard Vaughans, one of the Bristol group reaching Virginia between 1654 and 1663; David Vaughn, Virginia, 1707; Wm. Vaughn who arrived in South Carolina in 1728.

Again, as we previously acknowledged, any one of these - or none of these - could have been our first American male emigre ancestor. Some of the William Vaughans were of the proper age to have been our Fereby's William Vaughan himself. Others could have been his father.

More About Vaughans In Wales

Theophilus Jones' **History of Brecknockshire** provides us with numerous Vaughans who, for the most part, are descended from Moreiddig Warwin who married Elinor, daughter of the Lord Rhys, Prince of South Wales, the line from which sprang Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine who married Gwladys Gam, parents of Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower.

In examining Christian names of emigre Vaughans on Filby's passenger lists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we found some of the same names among those on one or more of Jones' pedigrees. There are, of course, numerous Johns, James, Thomases and Williams. The reader who wishes to pursue these matters will take note of some interesting instances of identical Christian names which occur in the case of Hugh (Figures 7,12), Rowland (Figures 7,8), and Lewis and William (Figure 9), all of whom appear on both lists. Edwd. Vaughan, a Virginia emigre of 1644 on one of the Filby lists, arrived at the proper time to have been the Edw. Vaughan listed in Figure 11 of Jones' pedigree for Roger Vaughan. This particular Edw. Vaughan married a daughter of Rhys Thomas of Llangonoyd and her Christian name is not given. Neither are dates made known to us in Jones' history; however, this Edw. Vaughan was eight generations removed from Sir Roger Vaughan which makes him at least a contemporary of Filby's 1644 Virginia emigre. Although these occurences of identical Christian names can only be regarded as coincidental, they may point us in a direction worthy of additional research.

Mrs. M. A. James, the records agent of the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth, Dyfed (SY23 3BU CYMRU,

Wales) provided some of the research which led to the discovery of the Jones material previously cited in this book and, in addition, we were provided a list of the Brecon Probate Index for the years 1733-1782. This list of Vaughan wills shows the Christian name of the decedent at the left, the place of residence of the decendent, the date admitted to probate, and the name of the administrator or executor at the far right. All of the surnames of the deceased are Vaughan:

Rebecca	Skethrog	19 May 1738	Chas. Vaughan
Richard	Gladestry	14 June 1739	Elizth. V.
Evan, Esq.	Glascomb	26 March 1743	Evan Powell
Robert	Llanddewy	21 Apr 1749	Anne Vaughan
William	Llanvillo	18 Jan ?	Eliz. V.
William	Llanvrynach	27 Nov 1756	Chas. V.
John	Llanvillo	21 Jan 1781	John Forster
William	Talgarth	8 Apr 1738	Roger Vaughan
William	Brecon	19 July 1739	Mary V.
Edwd.	Cwmtoyddwr	4 May 1739	Jno. Price
Edwd.	St Harmons	17 Apr 1740	
John	St Harmons	6 Oct 1742	
Charles	Nantmel	14 Apr 1744	
Phillip	Clodock	19 July 1746	
Phillip	Llanvillo	9 Feb 1746	
Hugh	Llowes	12 March 1747	
Jonnet	Llanthetty	24 Apr 1750	
John	Nantmel	2 Aug 1751	
James	Llanigon	14 March 1753	
William	Brecon	17 Jan 1757	
William	Llanigon	11 Sept 1759	
Richard	Clirow	27 Feb 1762	

Additional entries in the record books of Brecon were noted by Ms. James, including the following:

NLW MS	7743E	Vaughan notes, wills etc, Monmouth
	38334C	"
	3766	Vaughans, Bredwardine, Dunraven, Penbrey
	7287D	Vaughans, Corsygedol, Merioneth
	7730E	Vaughans, Courtfield, Monmouth
	p.446	Vaughans, Golden Grove
	6173	Vaughans, Hendwrt, Dolgellau, Meir
	4965E	Vaughans, Hengwrt, Rug, County Meir
	7751E	Vaughans, Porthaml, County Brecon
	1592E	Vaughans, Corsygedol, History (1770)
	8716D	Vaughans, Plasgwyn, Llandyfaelog, Golden Grove, County Carmarthen
	1595E folio-165	Vaughan, Sir William, poet, colonial pioneer. Petition by Sir William Vaughan and others re Newfoundland fisheries, seventeenth century.

Again, it will be obvious to the dedicated genealogist that a search of these probate and other entries could provide some useful information, as for example the names of heirs named William and John Vaughan, or male Vaughan heirs of the same or other Christian name who were left without an inheritance and who therefore went out to find their own way in America. However, even here it should be noted that these records pertain only to those Vaughans who died during the period 1733-1782 and/or whose wills were probated at that time within the County of Brecon. As we have seen, Vaughans of Tretower had by this time scattered to the winds, and were to be found in other parts of Wales, in England, and in America. Again, however, this is not to say that a search of these records might not prove helpful.

As we have seen, there were numerous Vaughans whose eminence in some regard placed them in the category of "high profile" Vaughans wherein extensive pedigrees and histories were written of and about them. Our William's immediate ancestors were not among these families, but his more ancient ancestors were. Even the genealogists who researched the more prominent of the Vaughans had gaps in their research, witness the following from Hodgdon's work:

"Although the American Vaughan, owing to the lapse of so many generations since the emigration of his ancestors, may be unable to discover the connecting links between them and their British progenitors, nevertheless it may be assumed with almost certainty that all of the name are descended from a common ancestry who dwelt ages ago in Western Britain.

"Among the earliest settlers in nearly all of the English colonies on our Atlantic Coast can be found the name of Vaughan, from whom have sprung numerous branches of the family in this country." [1](HODGDON, p.x)

Hodgdon provides support for our earlier position regarding the necessity for younger males in Vaughan households in Wales to seek greener pastures. He writes:

"The general pedigree of the family of the Vaughans shows: (1) Such extraordinary expansion in the various branches, and within a few generations only, that there would become an absolute necessity for the younger members to seek out new locations; and, (2) A tendency among themselves to centralize into groups around these new localities." [2](Ibid., p.138)

We shall end our review at this time. The reader who wishes to do so should find innumerable opportunties for further research. Anyone wishing to pursue the Benton and Looney lines will want to review the preceding chapter. Our ships' passenger study revealed only three Looneys. However there were thirty-one persons named Benton. Opportunities for further research into the various Vaughan lines are overwhelming, almost limitless. The plethora of Vaughans that we have uncovered in Wales, England, and the United

States makes Ralph Griffith's colorful statement all the more meaningful. As he told me early-on, Vaughans are indeed "thick upon the ground."

If it appears that we have made no progress in this search beyond what had already been established by Lewis Vaughan, I would agree with some reservations. Obviously we have not been able at the time of the publication of this book to identify William Vaughan's parents or his original emigre ancestor. Neither have we identified the parents of William's wife, Fereby. There will even be those who will remain unconvinced that William Vaughan and his progeny are descendants of Vaughan of Tretower. Of this, I can only say that I am convinced that our Vaughans came from the line of Vaughans who occupied Tretower Court & Castle in southern Wales. Although I do not know the name of our male ancestor nor the specific Tretower generation of which he was a member, I have no doubts that William and his father were of the Tretower clan of Vaughans.

The evidence, although available to us only as oral family history, is far more than circumstantial. To reiterate, essentially the same stories had been told in two branches of our American family in which there had been no direct contact for almost 200 years (from the late 1780s to the late 1980s). The most important facts passed on to successive generations were these: We are Welsh. Our families worked for the Crown. They were in charge of a castle not more than 30 or 40 miles north of Cardiff (the location of Tretower). One of our ancestors was beheaded (Sir Roger Vaughan). Another was a published poet (Henry Vaughan, The Silurist). There simply is no other family of Welsh Vaughans who qualify in all of these particulars other than Vaughans of Tretower. I find this to be most convincing evidence.

Although our initial goal was to find our original emigre ancestor, I have chosen to go ahead and publish what we have learned. If the true story of our William Vaughan's origins is never told, we may still take some satisfaction in our having been introduced to numerous Welsh Vaughans, many of whom are related to our Vaughans. And what we have set down here may lead someone to further discoveries. It would not surprise me in the least to learn that our William Vaughan's father arrived in North America during a comparatively early period, say 1717-1740, or that William himself came here as a child, arriving at Boston or Philadelphia or another northern port of entry; or that our William is the offshoot of an earlier emigre, possibly even the John Vaughan who, according to one of our kinsman, was banished from Wales during the War of the Roses. All of this, of course, is the purest sort of speculation on my part.

Epilogue

Should any reader happen upon evidence having to do with the immediate ancestors of William Vaughan and Fereby Benton Vaughan, I would be most pleased to hear from them. I would also appreciate comments from readers who may have been helped by this book in a quest for a Vaughan ancestor even though that ancestor may not be directly related to our William and Fereby. Since, as we have previously indicated, no separately printed corrections to errata are planned, corrections of obvious errors should be made in individual copies of the book; however, I would appreciate receiving notices of any such errors in case a later, amended edition should find its way into print.

My first visit to Tretower in May of 1989 led to several discoveries including the unique location of the Court and Castle just as my grandfather had described it. I also learned that Henry Vaughan was a descendant of Tretower. A day following my visit in the Crickhowell area I found in the Stratford bookstore of Robert Vaughan copies of E. K. Chamber's two-volume edition of Henry's poems, as well as a copy of Hutchinson's biography of The Silurist. These and other books confirmed other aspects of my grandfather's Welsh stories, thus providing further motivation and encouragement in drafting this manuscript.

As the material for this book is being assembled for the publisher, I am making plans for another trip to Tretower. Tentatively planned for mid-June (1990), this is to be a "family visit" with other descendants of Anthony Wayne Vaughan. Frankly, I have serious doubts that we will add very much, genealogically speaking, that will be of help to us in our efforts to solve the William Vaughan mystery. In all probability any additional help will come from the American side of the Atlantic.

It will be obvious to anyone contemplating further investigation of William and Fereby that what is most desperately needed is information pertaining to the birthplace, birthdates, parents, names of brothers and sisters, place and dates of marriages, and other family details concerning this couple. If we should be so fortunate as to discover these facts, it would not surprise me to learn that William was born in this country, and possibly William's father as well. I would not be too shocked if William's mother turns out to have been at least part Cherokee. The names William Patrick Vaughan and Fereby (Fair-a-Bee) Looney may play a part in all of this. After all, Cora Call's stories, as told her by Molly Stone and Granny Harp, had some basis in fact. Who, then, were Old William Patrick and Fair-a-Bee if not the parents of our William who married Fereby. Clearly, in her mind, there were the two Williams and the two Ferebys, or one Fereby and one

Fair-a-Bee. The reader has seen how that Christian name was used over and over again in one or more variations in naming female descendants in various branches of the family. Did the older couple actually own land near Sweeten's Cove and Sweden's Creek in Tennessee's Marion County? What do we make of Maborne's apparent sale of land there in 1835?

And what part, if any, did Ayres T. Vaughan of Floyd County Kentucky play in all of this? Was he the older brother of William (and Maryland John) and the eldest of the children of an Old William Patrick and Fair-a-Bee? It seems to me that we should not dismiss these as possibilities simply because we have no printed document to prove them one way or the other. And what of the Heltons and Hattens and the use of the names Feribe and Shadrach? Are there hints of possible kinship in their stories? We need to hold all of these out as distinct possibilities until proven or refuted.

I would not be too startled if William's father turns out to be part Indian, possibly a son of a Delaware or Cherokee mother and a Welsh father. The emigre ancestor could have been William's grandfather or possibly even his great grandfather. It is not inconceivable that the original emigre arrived here in the mid 1600s. And, if he mated with an Indian, we may not find any evidence of his birth, his arrival, his marriage, his children, or his death. If this should be the sort of scenario with which we are dealing, then we may still take some satisfaction in knowing that at least his male offspring continued to tell aspects of the stories we have been told about our Vaughans in Wales. Our William was already in America and about 33 years of age when Tretower was sold to the Parrys. In all likelihood, he wasn't even aware of that sale. Certainly this was not among the stories told me by my grandfather.

On the other hand, William could have been pure Welsh. Revolutionary War records may yet provide valuable clues. Again, we are obviously indulging in speculation and conjecture. But there are answers out there and perhaps someone will find them, aided - we hope - with whatever we have provided in the way of clues.

Looking back over this project, I must tell you that my early disappointment at not finding our "missing link" Welsh emigre Vaughan has given way to the feeling that perhaps a better purpose was served in simply telling this story, incomplete as it is. Perhaps this should be the purpose of these kinds of books anyway. After all, most genealogical studies are pretty straightforward, cut-and-dried affairs, leaving nothing to the imagination of the reader. I doubt that this will be said of ***VAUGHANS IN WALES & AMERICA.***

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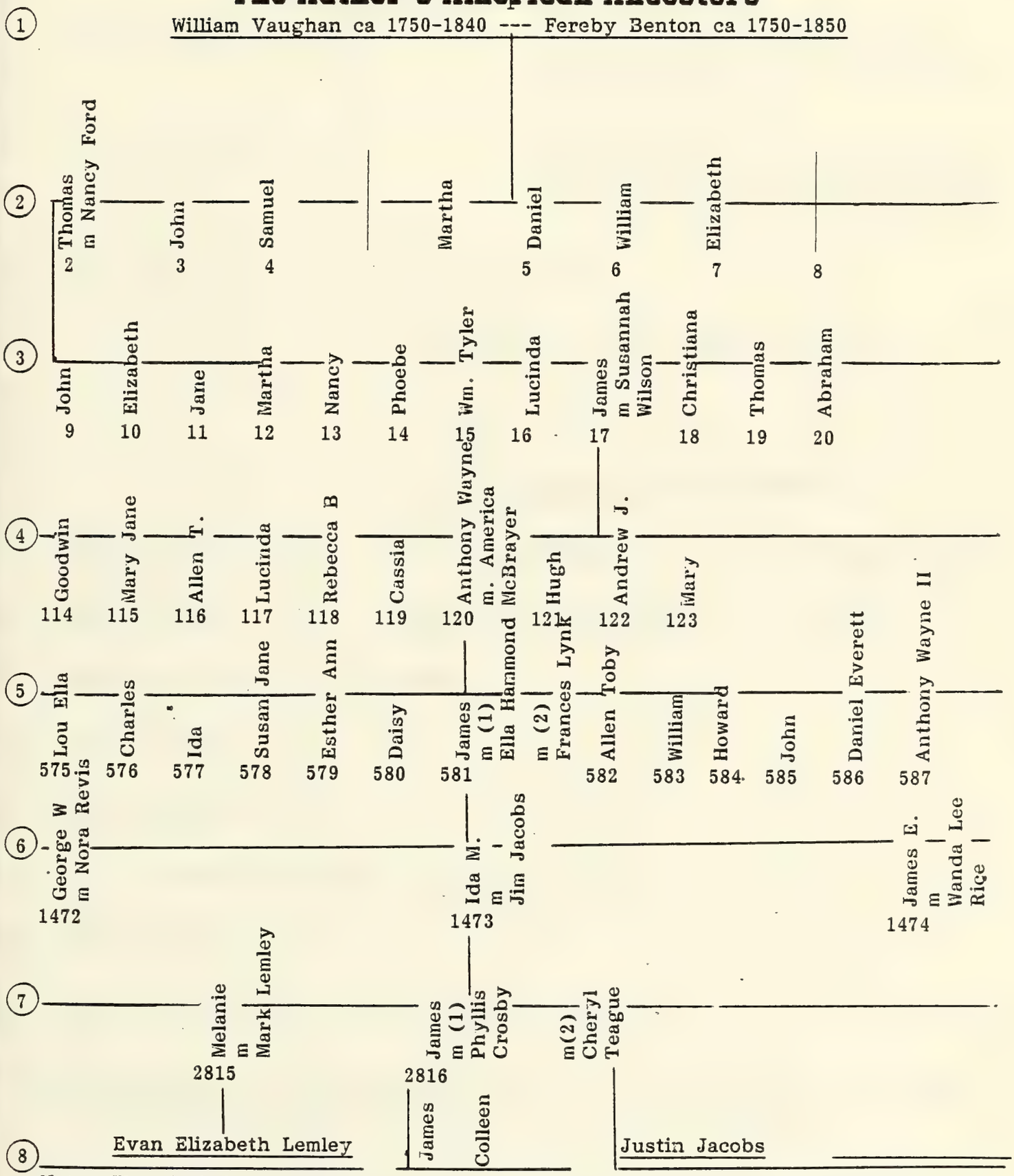
1 March 1990

Appendix

Figures 1 through 30
Pedigrees and Photographs

Figure 1

The Author's American Ancestors



Notes The circled numerals down the left side refer to successive generations beginning with William and Fereby Vaughan, counting theirs as the first. The uncircled numerals are those used by Lewis Vaughan in Vaughan Pioneers to designate individuals within the first seven generations.

Figure 2

The Welsh Tretower Vaughans

(1) Sir Roger Vaughan --- Gwladys Gam ---
Knighted @ Agincourt
Died there in battle in 1415.

Sir William ap Thomas, second husband of Gwladys, purchased Tretower and Raglan Castles from Lord Berkeley in the 1420s. Their son was William Herbert, later Earl of Pembroke.

(2) Sir Roger Vaughan II d 1471

Sir William Herbert gave Tretower Court to his half-brother, Sir Roger Vaughan II, around 1450. Both were prominent Yorkists in battles against Henry VI's Lancastrians.

(3) Thomas Vaughan

(4) Roger Vaughan — Henry Vaughan

(5) Christopher Vaughan (High Sheriff 1547)

(6) William Vaughan

(7) William Vaughan --- Frances Somerset
(High Sheriff 1591, d 1613)

(8) Charles Vaughan (High Sheriff 1621-25) — Thomas Vaughan m Denise Morgan — Margaret Vaughan m John Walbeoffe

(9) William Vaughan — Henry (1621-1695) — Thomas (1621-1666) — Charles

(10) Margaret Vaughan --- Thomas Morgan

(11) Vaughan Morgan

(12) Charles Vaughan d 1704

(13) Charles Vaughan (moved from Tretower to Skethrog)

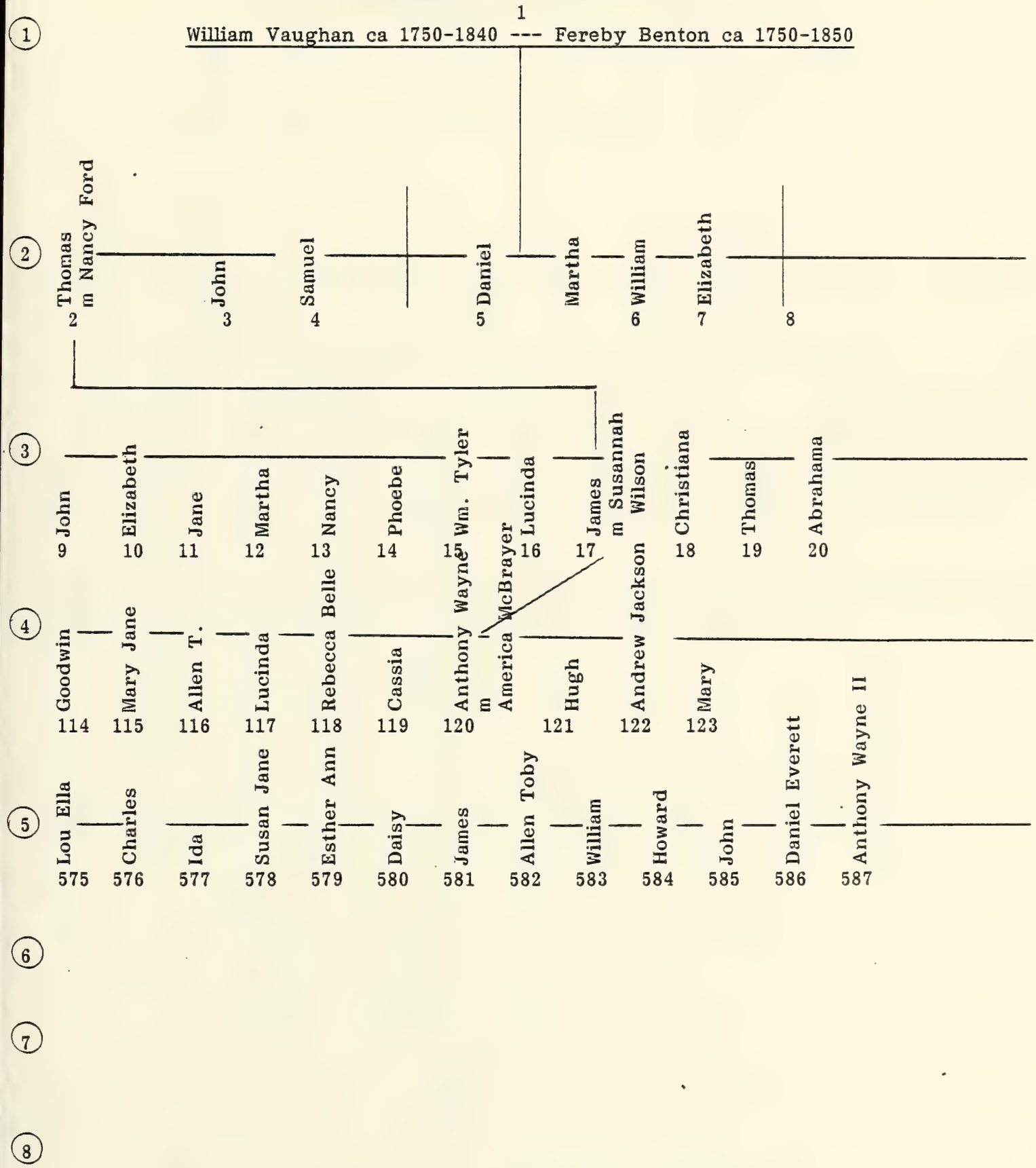
(14) Charles Vaughan d 1777

(15) Charles Vaughan (sold Tretower in 1783 as a farm)

Notes The circled numerals down the left side refer to successive generations beginning with Sir Roger Vaughan and Gwladys Gam Vaughan, counting theirs as the first. Additional family names and dates are to be found on other diagrams.

Figure 3

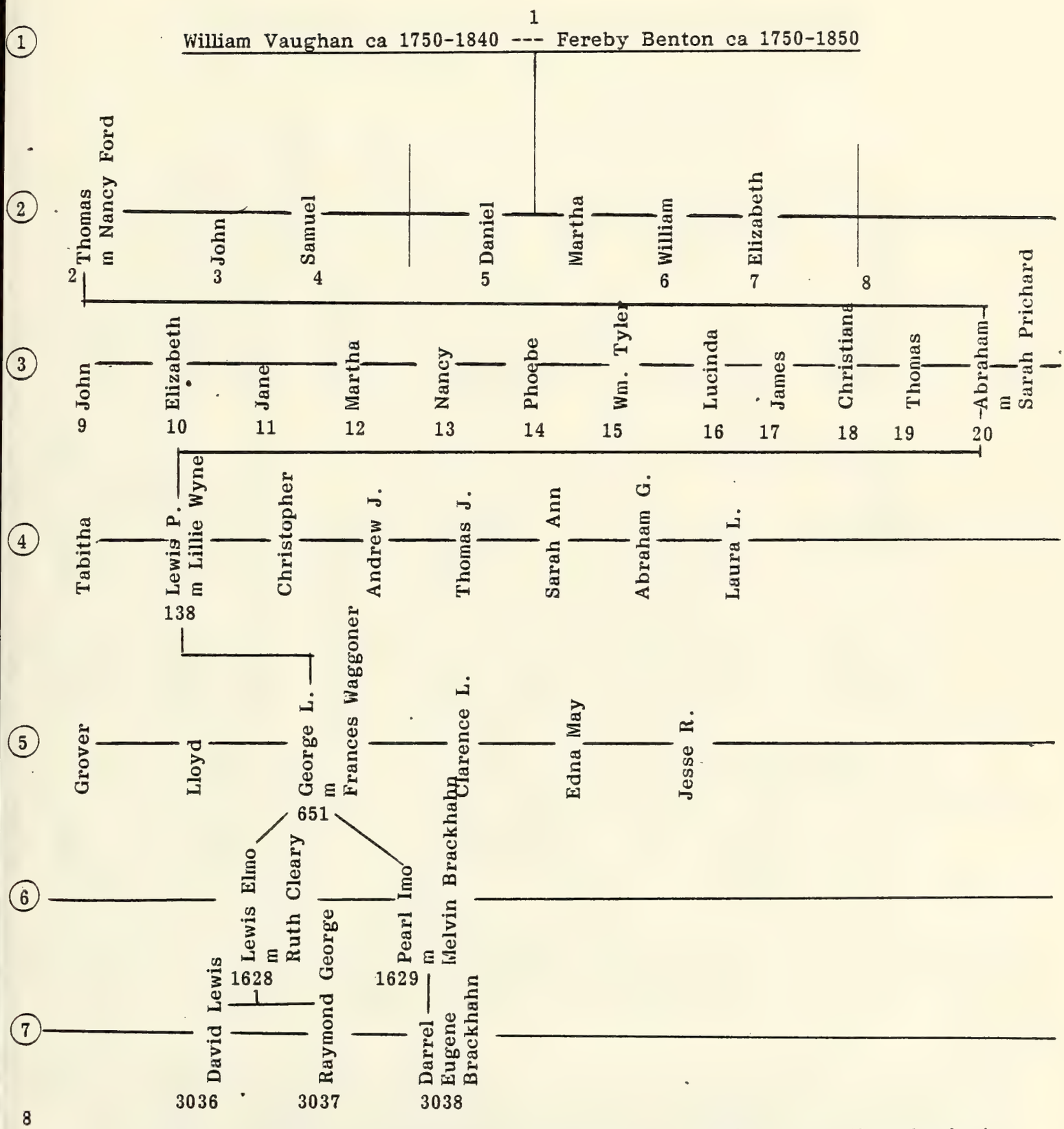
A Reader's Worksheet



Notes The circled numerals down the left side refer to successive generations beginning with William and Fereby Vaughan, counting theirs as the first. The uncircled numerals are those used in Vaughan Pioneers to designate individuals within the first seven generations.

Figure 4

Lewis Vaughan's American Ancestors

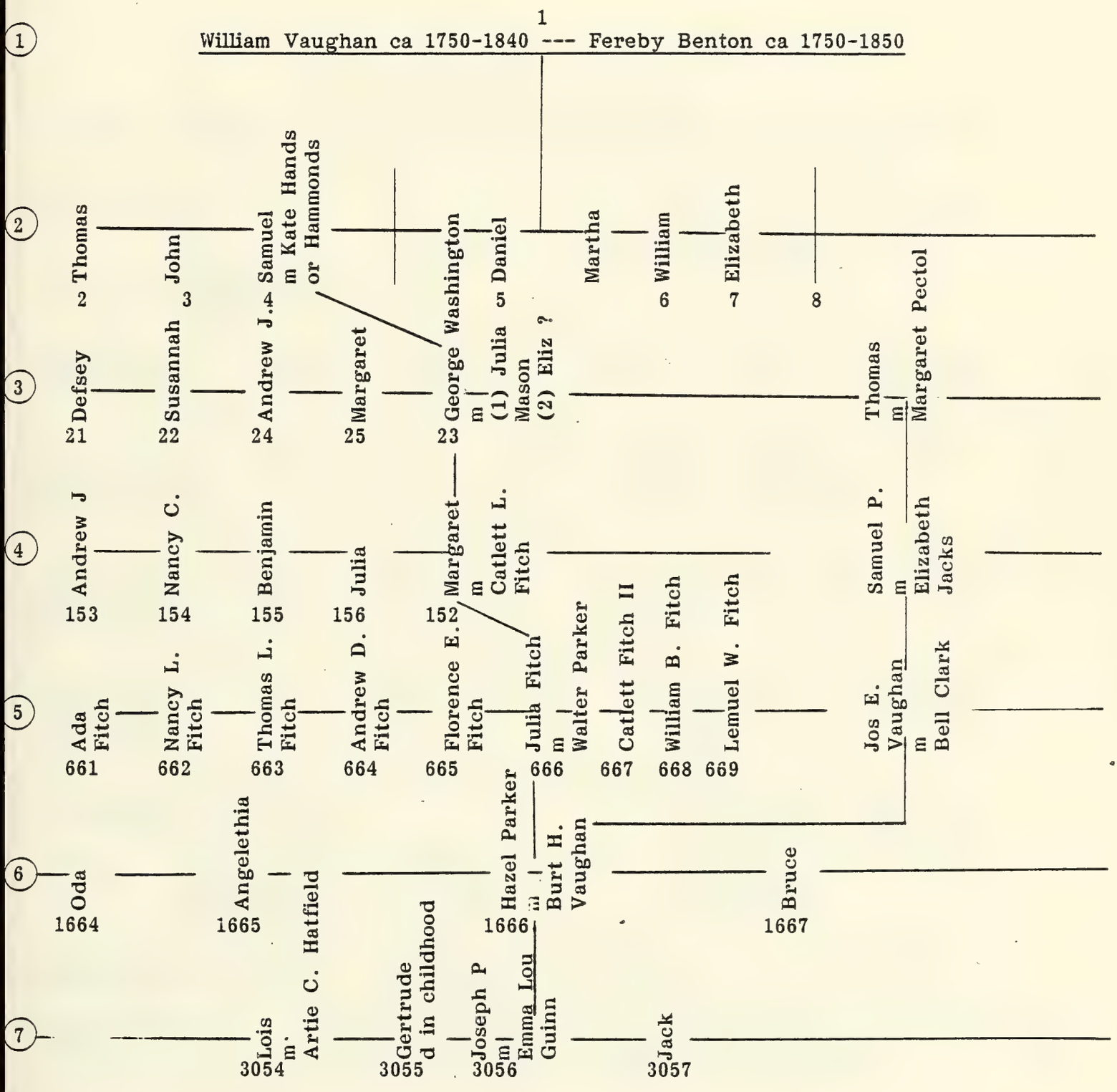


8

Notes The circled numerals down the left side refer to successive generations beginning with William and Fereby Vaughan, counting theirs as the first. The uncircled numerals are those used by Lewis Vaughan in his Vaughan Pioneers to designate individuals within the first seven generations.

Figure 5

The Northwest Arkansas Vaughan-Fitch Branch



8

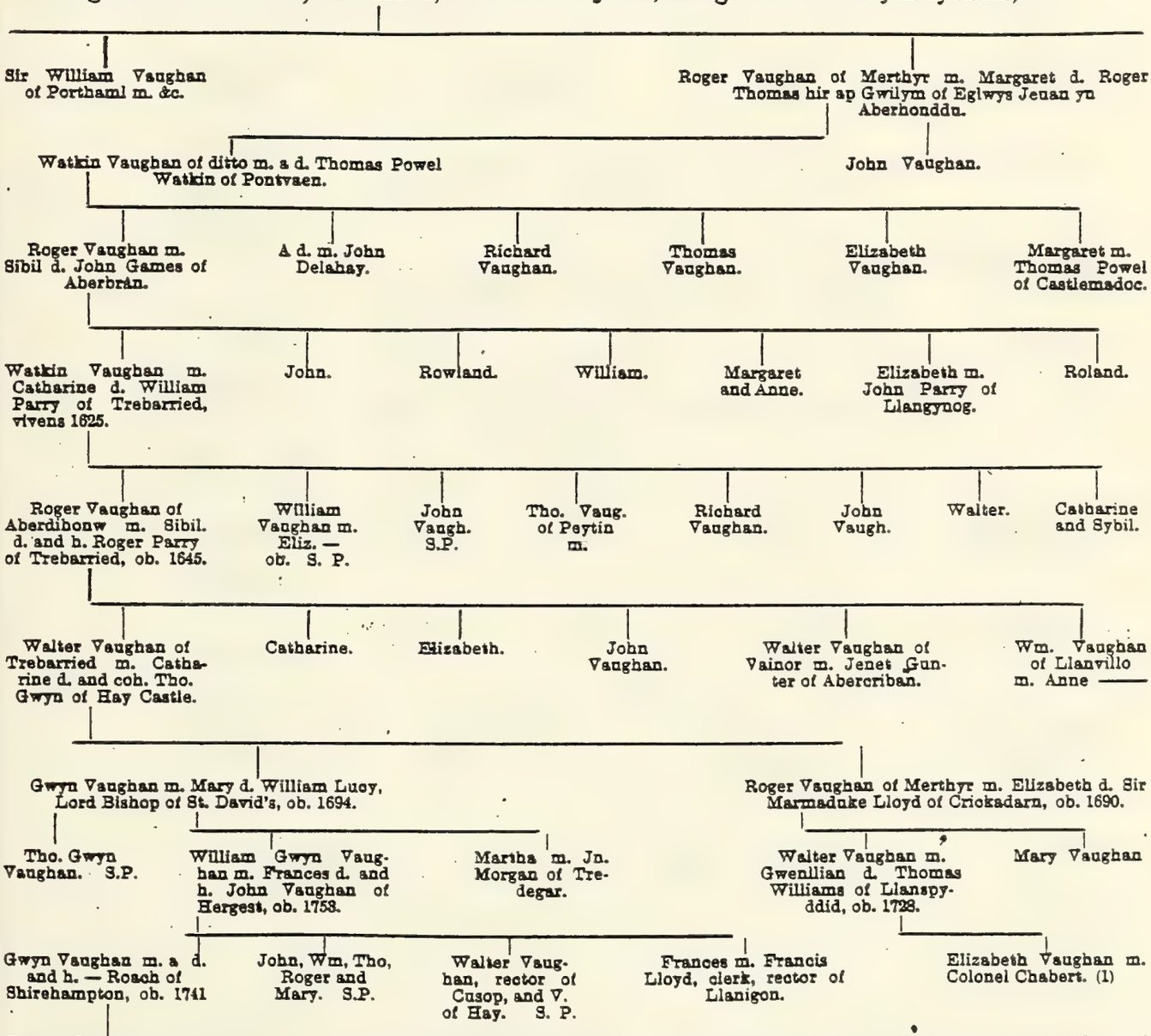
Notes The circled numerals down the left side refer to successive generations beginning with William and Fereby Vaughan, counting theirs as the first. The uncircled numerals are those in Vaughan Pioneers designating individuals within the first seven generations. Lewis Vaughan's #8 represents at least five children who cannot be positively identified. (See Vaughan Pioneers, page 9.)

Figure 6

Vaughan of Yscirfechan and Trebarried

(p.263, History of Brecknockshire)

Vaughan of Yscirfechan and Trebarried,
See Vaughan of Bredwardine and Tretower to Watkin Vaughan (grandson of Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower) inclusive, he married Joan, daughter of Gwilym fychan, &c.



(1) Mrs. Chabert's mother, when she married Mr. Vaughan, was widow of Hugh Penry of Cefnbrith, she married thirdly Edward Jones vicar of Merthyr, by whom she had two children, Thomas and Elizabeth.

Figure 7

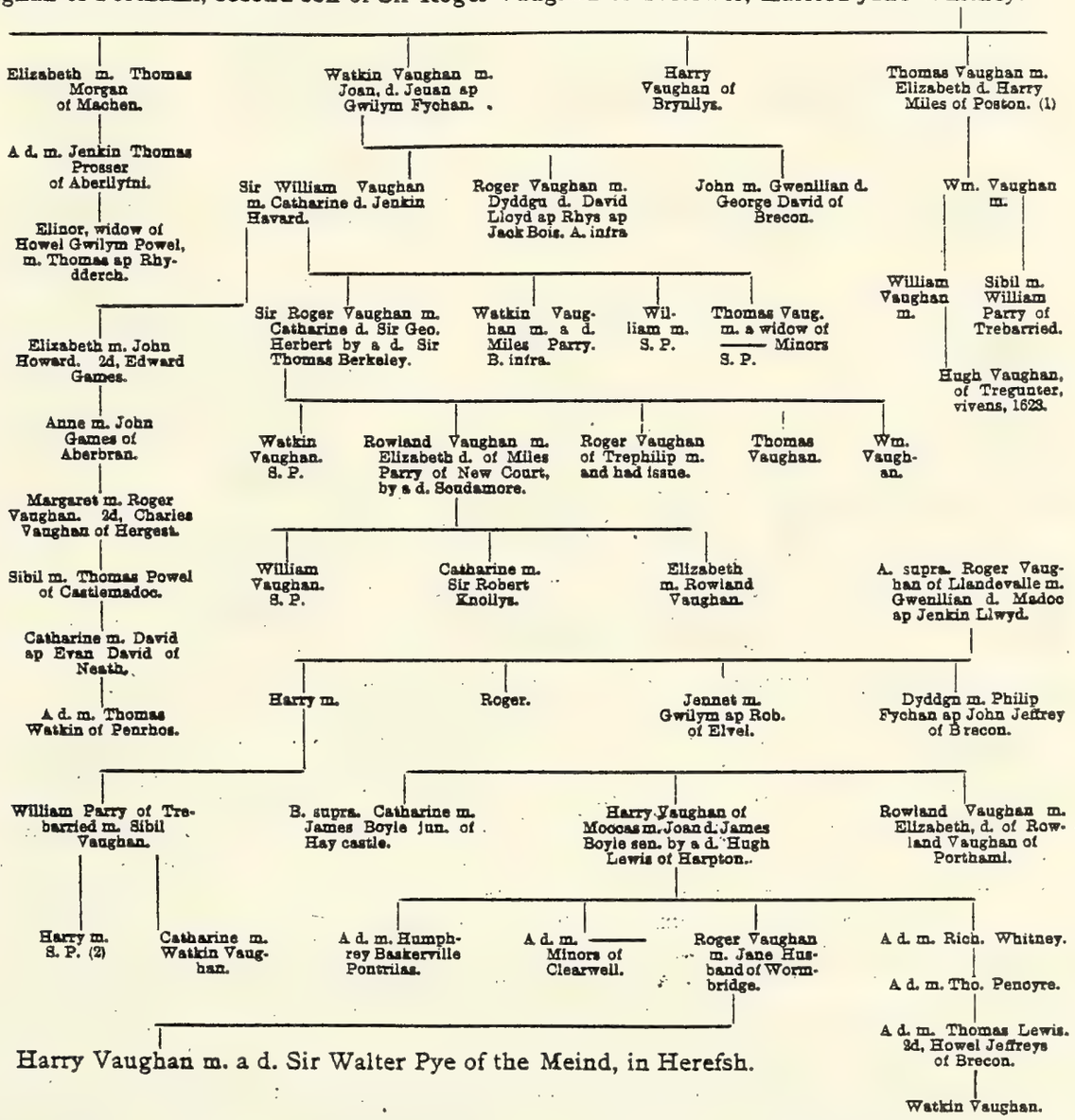
Vaughan of Porthaml

(p.334, History of Brecknockshire)

Vaughan of Porthaml.

See Games, Morgan of Dderw, and Vaughan of Tretower.

Roger Vaughan of Porthaml, second son of Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, married Jane Whitney.



(1) I copy here a pedigree preserved in the family: The genealogies of the Welsh heralds in general say Thomas Vaughan of Tregunter had issue Harry Vaughan of Brynllys, Lord of Tywyn Ceredigion, and Thomas Vaughan married to a widow of Sir Thomas Knevett, and that this last Harry had issue, William married to Joan Vaughan daughter of Watkin Vaughan of Clâs.

(2) He had an elder brother Roger, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Paul Delahay. Died S. P.

Figure 8

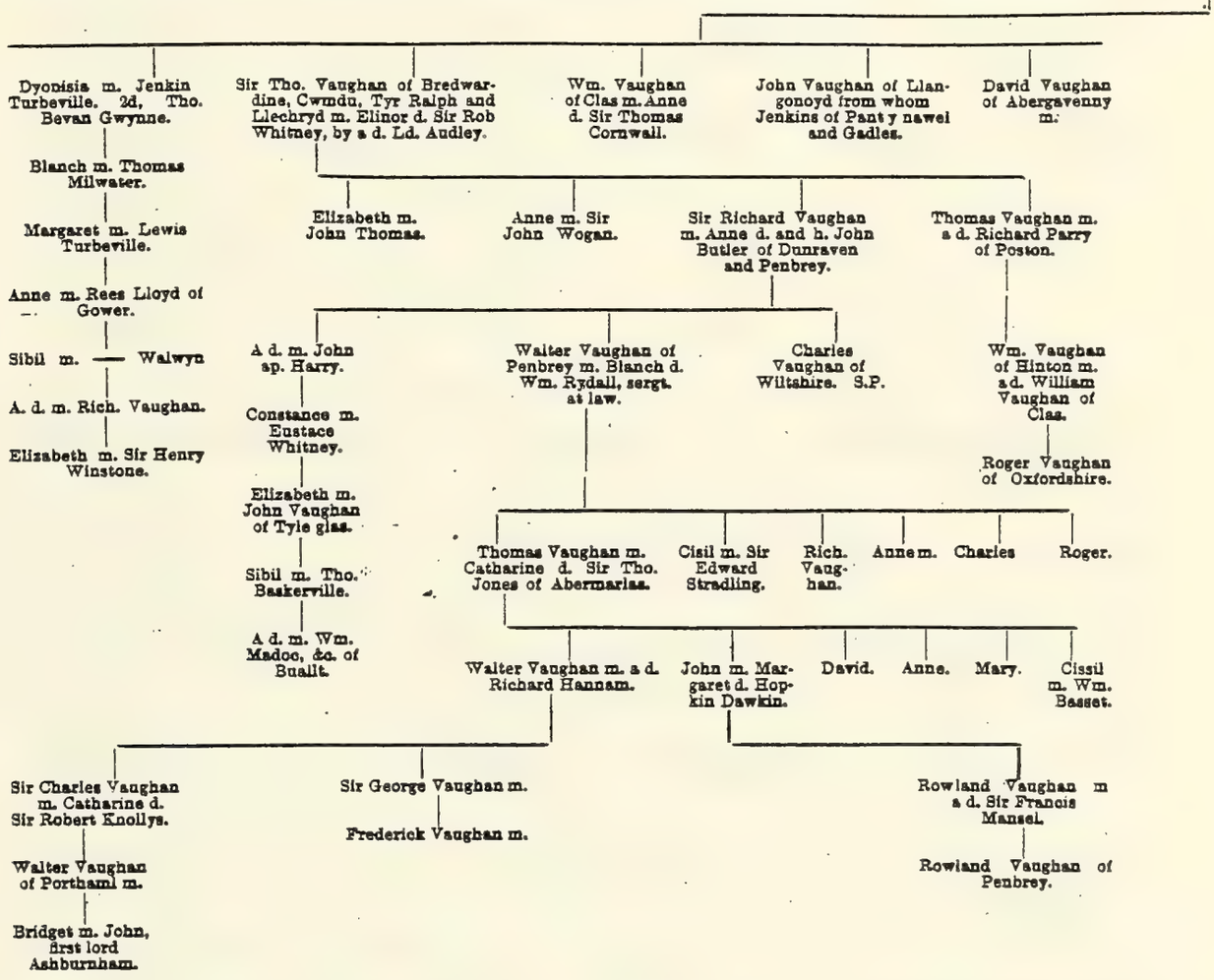
Paternal Ancestors of Sir Charles Vaughan

(p.335, History of Brecknockshire)

Vaughans, paternal ancestors of Sir Charles Vaughan, who married the daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Knollys.

See Games, Morgan of Dderw and Vaughan of Tretower, to Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine, inclusive.

Watkin Vaughan, eldest son of the above Sir Roger Vaughan, slain at Agincourt, married Elinor, d. Sir Harry Wogan.



Tregunter or Gunterstone was the lordship given by Bernard Newmarch to Sir Peter Gunter, correctly Gauntd'or or Gauntlette-d'or, their arms being, sable, a chevron between two gauntlets *Or*.

This family though they were very powerful and increased their property very much by their marriages, removed from thence to Gileston, in Llanfigan, after seven generations, where they continued, in the male line until 1683, when it failed, as it has done since in most of the collateral branches. Upon the elder branches quitting Tregunter, they appear to increase so rapidly that the operation of the law of gavel kind soon brought them on a level with the small landholders of the country, though Tregunter still continued in the issue of a younger brother, as will be seen hereafter, but they became afterwards so dispersed over Breconshire and Monmouthshire, that at this moment there is nothing like a mansion of the Pencenedl or head of the house in either county, for though the name linger the golden gauntlet is rarely seen upon the chariot or the sideboard, and this stock, like that of the golden pippin, in vegetable life, and perhaps for the same causes to which naturalists attribute the deterioration of that fruit, is disappearing very fast, yet in hopes that luxuriant scions may hereafter shoot from new grafts I shall endeavour to give stability to the roots of the old genealogical tree in this Parish. (1)

(1) The Biographia Britannica informs us that Edmund Gunter, the mathematician, who was born in Herefordshire in 1581, was of this family, I have not been able to connect him with them, but I believe him to be descended from one of the Abergavenny Gunters.

Figure 9

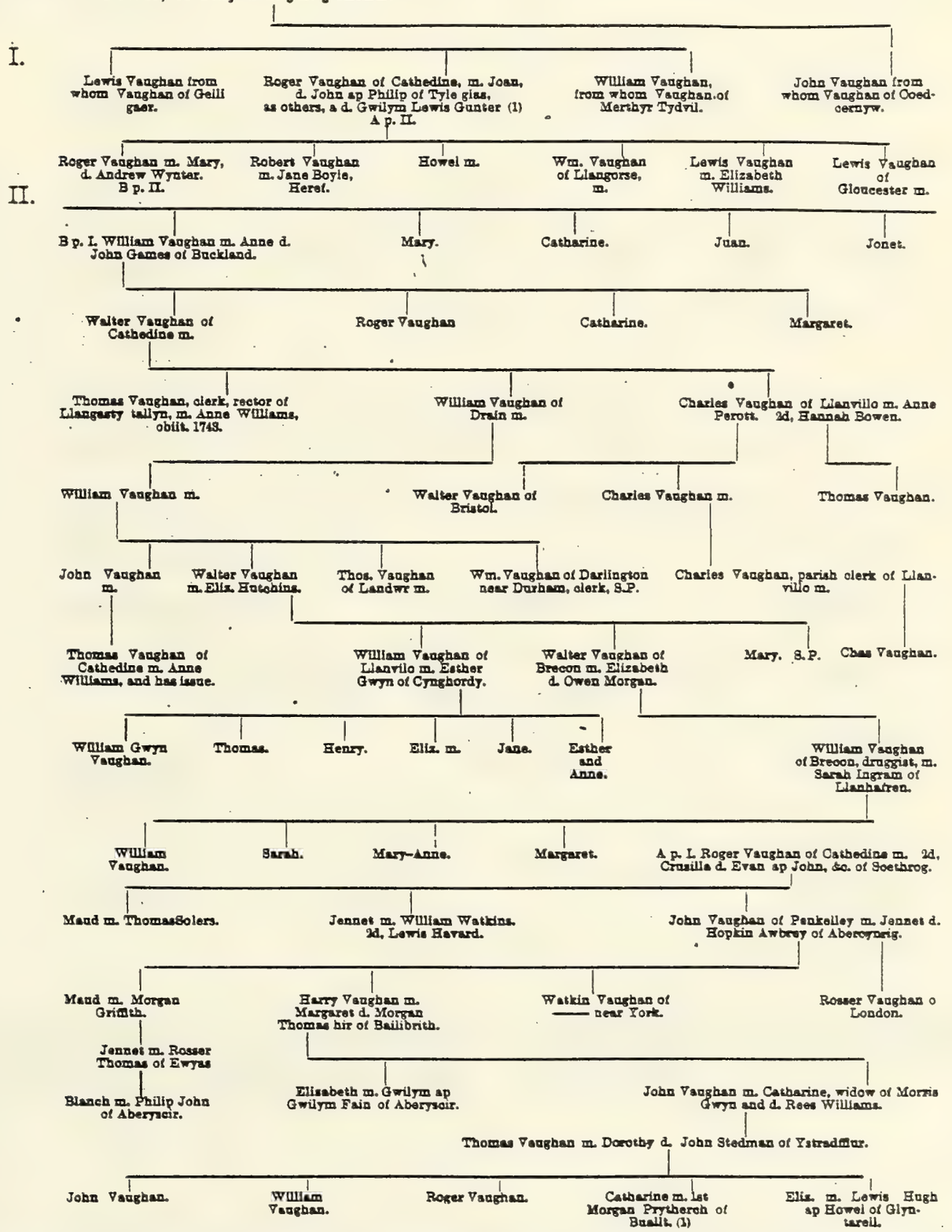
Vaughan of Cathedine, Brecon, Llanvillo, Etc.

(p.345, History of Brecknockshire)

Vaughan of Cathedine, Brecon, Llanvillo, &c.

See Vaughan of Tretower, to Sir Roger Vaughan, inclusive,

Lewis Vaughan of Merthyr Tydfil, sixth son (illegitimate) his mother, Jennet, d. Trahaern ap Meuric, m. Anne, d. Jenkin Cradoc of Gower, & 2dly a d. Jn. Jenkin.



(1) Roger Vaughan of Cathedine had also eight daughters, Jennet m. Philip Rhys of Langwy, Constance m. Sir John Thomas Parson of Tal y Sarn; Elinor m. David Rhys ap John Lloyd of Tywy, a d. m. William Parry Philip, Anne m. Morgan James, Blanch m. Rhys John Lloyd of Tywy, Elizabeth m. Thomas ap Jenkin, Margaret m. William Rosser, 2d William Vaughan of Tretower, and Sibil m. Robert ap Rosser of Llanelieu.

(2) She married secondly David Prees of Aberauell, thirdly John Lloyd Rowland, fourthly Walter Lloyd, son of Sir Marmaduke Lloyd of Crickadarn, and fifthly John, fourth son of Harry Williams of Baili brith.

Figure 10

Welsh Pedigree of Vaughan of Tretower, Hergest & Clyro

(p.419, History of Brecknockshire)

Vaughan of Tretower, Hergest and Clyro.

See Games to Drymbenog, second son of Dryffin, prince of Brecon inclusive who m. Gwenllian d. Jestin ap Gwrgan. Drymbenog was lord of Cantreff Selyff.

Moreiddig Warwin m. Elinor d. the lord Rhys, prince of South Wales.

Llewelin m. Joan d. Cynhyllyn, lord of Ystradwy.

I.

- Sitsyllt or Cecil m. Lleici or Lydia d. Griffith ap Madoc ap Cadrod.
  - Howel m. Gwladis d. Morgan Fychan lord of Aaron.
    - Einon or Jeuan m. Jennet, d. Rhys Grug of Cwmdu.
      - Rhosser Fawr of Llechryd m. Joice, d. Sir William Walbieffe.
        - Rhosser Fychan m. a d. Sir Ralph Baskerville, by a d. Sir Miles Pitcher.
          - Gwallter Sais m. Florence, d. Sir Walter Bredwardine or de Bredwardine.
            - Rhosser hen of Bredwardine m. Anne d. Sir Walter Devereux, lord Ferrars of Chartley.
              - Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine m. Gwladis d. Sir David Gam. Slain at Agincourt.
                - Watkin m.
                - Tho. Vaughan of Hergest m. Elen Gethin d. Cadwgan ap David, as others Joan d Sir William Trussel, knt.
                - Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, A p. III.
                - Lewis Vaughan m. He was a natural son.
                - Elizabeth m. Griffith ap Einon.
                - Blanch m. John Milwater.
              - A d. m. Tho. Griffith.
            - John alt. alii Jenkin m.
              - Agnes m. Watkin Llwyd or Walter Lloyd.
                - Watkin Vaughan m. Sibil d. James Baskerville, by Cissil d. Sir Walter Devereux.
                - Alice m. Robert Whitney, lord of Whitney.
                - Roger Vaughan of Clyro m. Jane d. Dav. Gwil. Morgan. B p. 2.
                - Sibil m. Jn. Scudamore.
                - Eliz. m. Jn. Lewis of Anglesea.
                - A d. m. —— Bromage.
                - A d. m. —— Abrahal.
                - James Vaughan m. Elizabeth d. Sir Edw. Croft. C p. II.
                - Oliver Vaughan m. a d. Rees Higgins of Kington.
                - Walter Vaughan.
                - Roger Vaughan m. Elinor d. Sir Thomas Cornwal.
                - Sibil m. Hugh Dav. Lewis of Harpton.
                - Thomas Vaughan m. a d. Nicholas Walwyn.
                - Nicholas Vaughan.

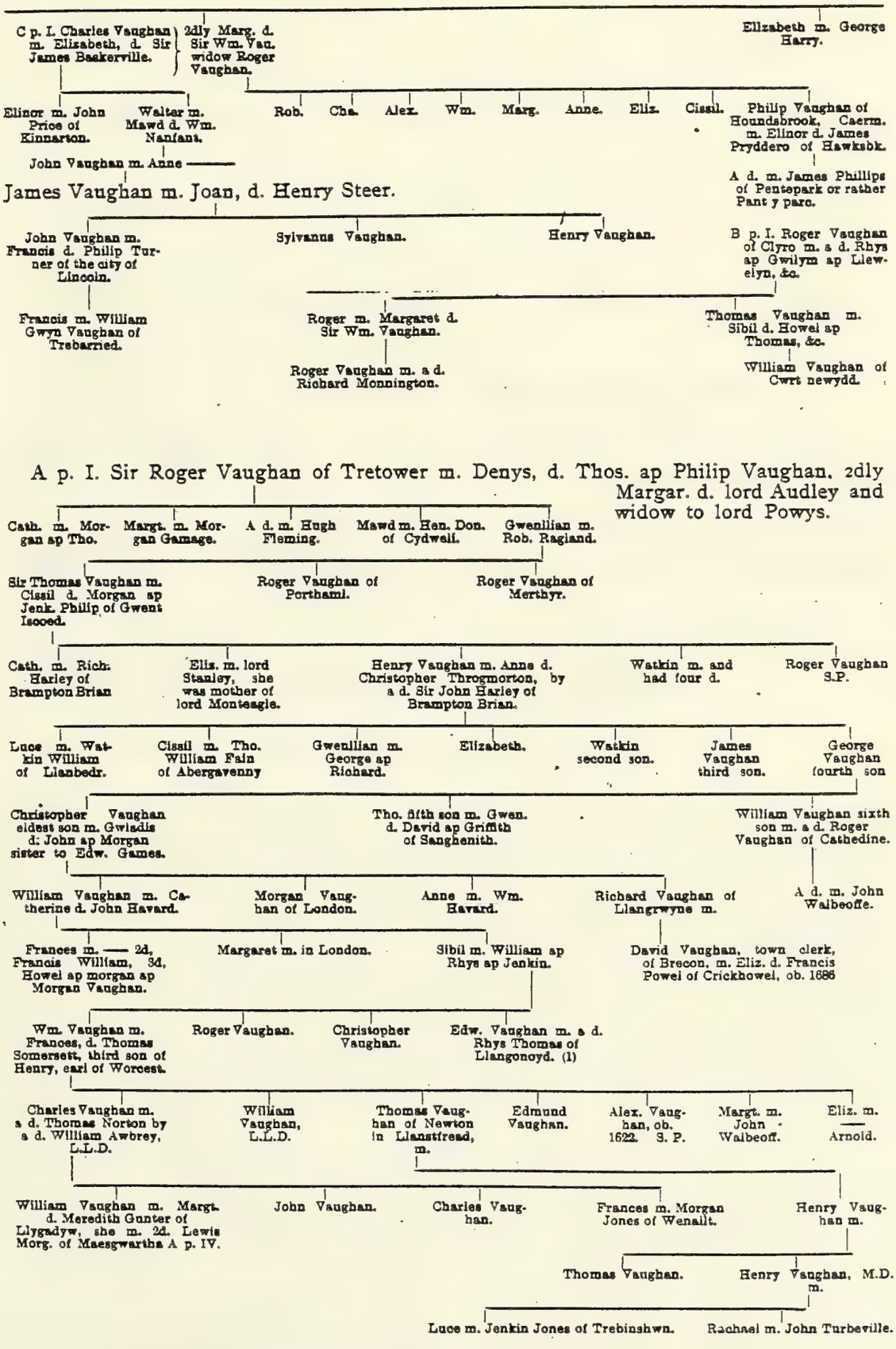
N. B. Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, mentioned in page 3 of this pedigree, besides the children there named, had several illegitimate sons and daughters; some of them are noticed as ancestors of several branches of this family; his youngest *illegitimate* son by an *illegitimate* daughter of a prior of the monastery of Abergavenny, called Prior coch, or the red haired prior, was named Thomas Vaughan, he was knighted and a great favourite of Richard the third, by whose command however he was afterwards beheaded at Pomfret; he married and had issue a daughter, married to Sir John Wogan of Wiston, and a son, Harry Vaughan, whose son, Sir Tho. *Parry*, was comptroller of the household and master of the wards to queen Elizabeth, he married Anne, daughter of Sir William Reed of Borestall in Bucks, by whom he had issue Sir Thomas Parry, chancellor of the exchequor and privy councillor in 1607: whose wife was Dorothy Brook, one of the maids of honour to queen Elizabeth.

Lodge's Illustrations, &c. vol. III. p. 388.

Figure 11

Continuation, Welsh Pedigree of Roger Vaughan of Tretower

(p.420, History of Brecknockshire)

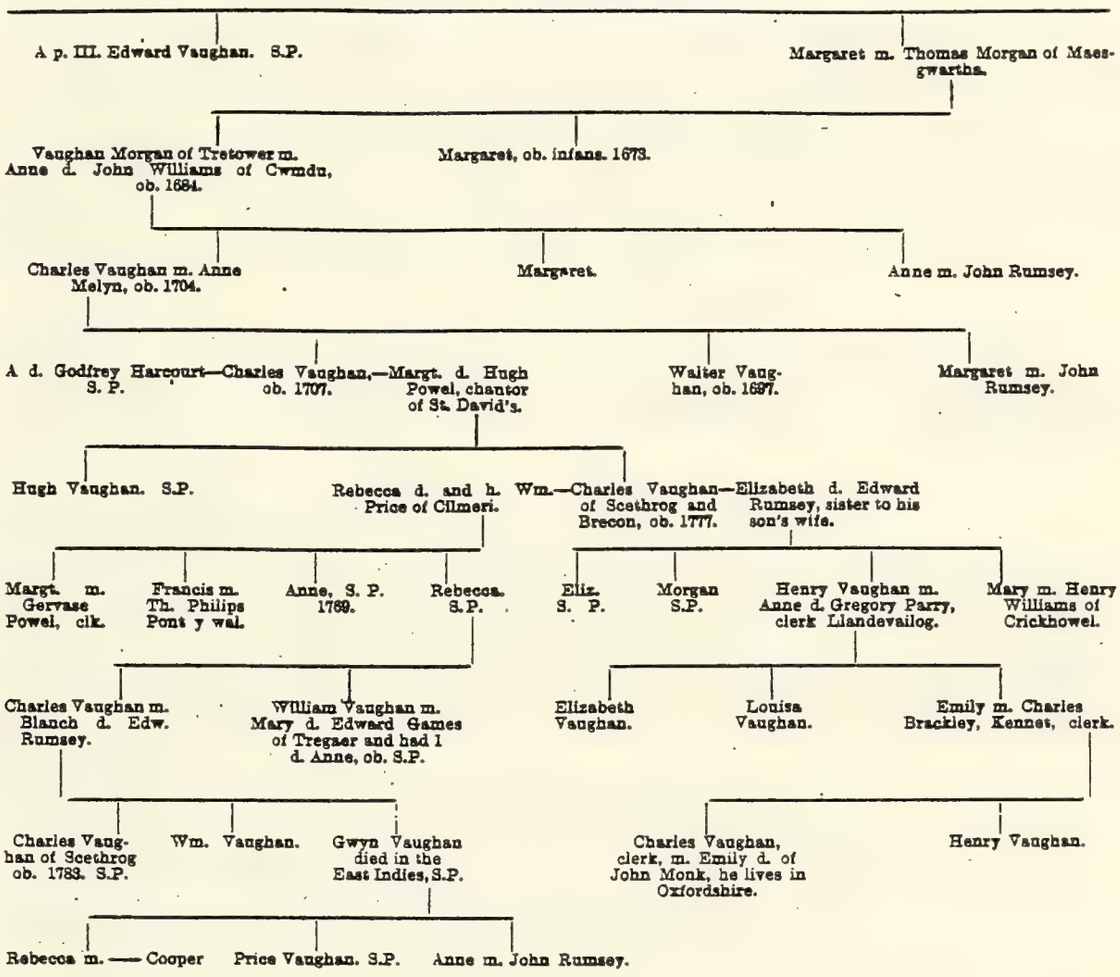


(1) From him were descended the Vaughans of Llanfrynach, now extinct in the male line.

Figure 12

Continuation, Welsh Pedigree of Roger Vaughan of Tretower

(p.421, History of Brecknockshire)



Another family of considerable importance and influence in this neighbourhood about a century and a half ago, settled at Neuadd, in this parish. They were a younger branch of the Bullens of Wernfawr, and came here immediately from Talgarth. Like the families of Abercamlais and Penpont, they also took the surname of Williams, and bore the arms of Bullen, but after the marriage of John Williams with the daughter and heiress of William Bowen of Tallyn, they assumed the crest of the Gunters, on a wreath *Or* and a sable, a stag's head couped at the neck, partly per pale, gules and sable, motto, Fal y gallo. (1) The only son of this John Williams and wife, dying unmarried at the age of twenty one, his sister Elizabeth inherited the property, she married John Butcher (2) of Lambeth, merchant, by whom she had three daughters, Blanch, Elizabeth and Sarah, the first married Charles Floyer of Gloucester, afterwards of Abergavenny, (3) the second John Greenly of Titley, and the third William Powel, rector of Llangattock. The mansion house and a considerable part of the property in Cwmdu fell to the lot of Mrs. Greenly, whose son John Greenly of Titley, esq. now possesses it. There are likewise a family of the name of Williams settled near the church, descended from William Williams, rector of Talachddu, son of David Williams, vicar of Cwmdu, the son of this William Williams is now living, and has issue three sons and one daughter; the early part of this pedigree will be seen in that of Williams of Llanspyddid.

The last family of note and long establishment in this parish, though there are many opulent gentlemen, yeomen and freeholders within the precinct, (among whom may be reckoned the Bevans, Gwilyms, Watkins, Parry, &c.) are the Rumseys of Cwmgu, lately considered as the *Tref Pencenedl*, though they have been and are at present much dispersed. They were at first in the reign of Henry the second, of Romsey in Hampshire, from whence they took their

(1) As well as he can.

(2) His arms were argent, three talbots passant, 2 and 1 sable.

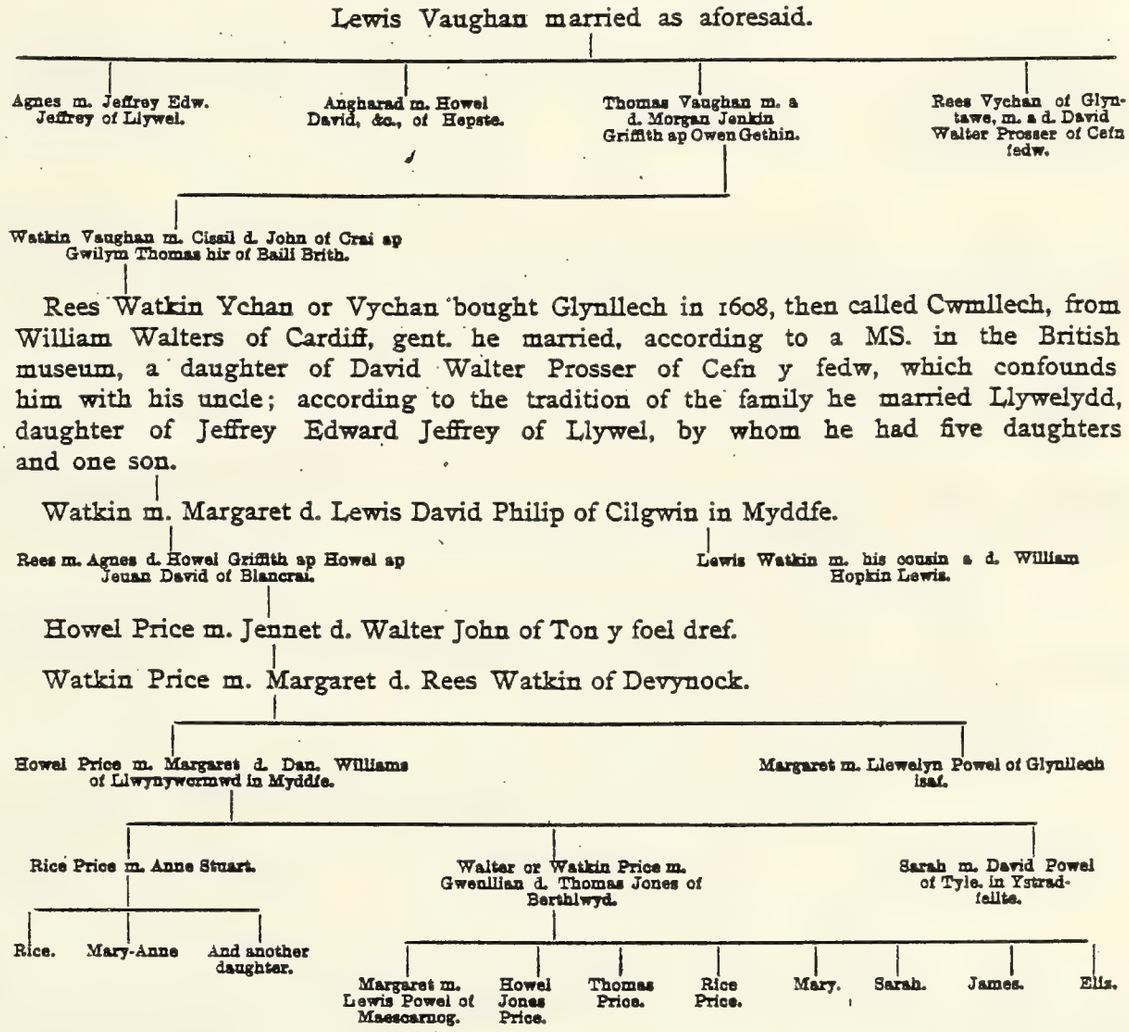
(3) This Charles Floyer was a notary public and attests a will in Llangynidr, and another in Cwmdu in the last century, to both of which are his seals. In the first he gives correctly, sable, 3 arrows, 2 and 1 the points downwards, *Or*, impaling Butcher, in the other, including the crest, he has no less than nineteen arrows in the coat and crest, first and fourth as before, Floyer, 2d on a fess, three gerbs between six arrows in bend in chief and in base, 3 as 2, crest, a stag's head couped at the neck, pierced through the mouth with an arrow. Now this is what is called in the *Critic* very properly, making too much of a good thing, and reminds one of Gray's "Iron sleet of arrowy show'r."

Figure 13

Continuation, Welsh Pedigree of Roger Vaughan of Tretower

(p.489, History of Brecknockshire)

The family of Price of Glynllech have adopted that surname for upwards of two centuries, but they are descended from Sir Roger Vaughan of Bredwardine, and bore in the last century the arms of Vaughan; of late years, from the division of the property among the sons and daughters, the eldest son became only a small freeholder, they are now, however, once more rising into opulence and respectability; Lewis Vaughan, from whom they are derived, was, according to our genealogies, the fourth son of Sir Roger Vaughan of Tretower, he was a natural son, and bore the baton over his arms; but this was no objection to him in those days, and he accordingly married a rich heiress and daughter of Andrew Prees Andrew of Abercamlais; his descendants are here inserted, the prior part of the pedigree will be seen upon reference to that of the general ancestor of the Vaughans.



Powel of Glynllech isaf, descended from Brychan Brechieniog, is also a family long settled in this parish, but I have not been able to connect them with that genealogy. (1) Most of the inhabitants however of the vale of Ystradgynlais claim their origin from him or Cradoc Fraich-fras, being driven by the Normans into this extreme nook of the county; but those who settled here, though they might lament the disgrace of their defeat, had little reason to complain of their change of situation; the whole or greatest part of the valley of Glyntawe being much lower than that of the Usk, and vegetation consequently more forward; it was anciently overgrown with wood on both sides of the river, the progress of population and the purposes of agriculture soon required the removal of part of this cloathing, but a sufficiency was left to render the country remarkably picturesque, until the manufacturer established himself at the bottom of the glen, when his wants soon denudated it, or at least robbed it of many of its beauties, improving at the same time the value of the soil, rendering it more productive for the use of man, and leaving still many romantic and shady dells on each side of the river, which are worth the tourist's attention, though never yet explored by our travellers.

(1) Owen Gethin, from whom many Breconshire families were formerly anxious to derive their descent, was of this parish, he was ancestor to Owen Gethin, a respectable farmer, now living there, but I am not able to bring the pedigree correctly down to him and his brothers.

Figure 14

digree of John Vaughan (emigre ca 1662, New Kent Co Va.)

(Provided by Mrs. Harry Vaughan as a possible line for Shadrach Vaughan 1733-1806)

Source of data

John Vaughan = Ellen
(a) Emigre 1662 — (a) Va. Mag Hist. v.5 : 342
(b) Will 27 Apr 1664 — (b) Westmoreland Co.

William Vaughan d 1687 (c) = Elizabeth — Samuel (c) Lower Norfolk Wills WMQ 25:37 19

Sarah Vaughan | Wm. | John Vaughan d.1724 = Sara Poindexter * m 3-11-1686

* New Kent Mar. Reg. St. Peters Par

William Vaughan 1612-1719 N. Kent

John Vaughan b.11/25/1695 | Wm. Vaughan b.11/2/1701

(d) William Vaughan = Elizabeth Shields — (d) Hinshaw-Quaker Encycl V.6 St. Peter's Par.

William Shields Vaughan = Hannah Grove
b.1/30/1730 d.1791
12 children, of whom

Shadrach Vaughan (e) (1733-1806) — (e) Birth recorded Henrico Meeting Hinshaw -Q.Encycl Vol 6
m.1770 Mary Meriwether
Member Henrico Quaker Meeting
" Cedar Creek Meeting, Bedford Co 1793
" White Oak Meeting 1795, 1798

VAUGHAN BIRTHS RECORD
St. Peter's Par. Register

James Vaughan b 2/5/1722; Hannah Vaughan b 1725; Wm. Shields Vaughan b 1/30/1730; Mary Vaughan b 5/4/1754; Elizabeth Vaughan b 3/27/1759; William Vaughan b 4/28/1738; Matthew Vaughan b 9/13/1739, Will 1798 Goochland Co. W.B. 17:265, Mar. Mary, dau John Martin (source: Wm & Mary Quar. Ser 2 V.10:319

Figure 14b

A Speculative Study of Several Parallel Lines of Descent

(1) Sir Roger Vaughan---Gwladys Gam --- Sir William ap Thomas, second husband of Gwladys, purchased Tretower and Raglan Castles from Lord Berkely in the 1420s. Their son was William Herbert, later Earl of Pembroke.
Knighted @ Agincourt.
Died there in battle in 1415.

(2) Sir Roger Vaughan II d.1471 — Sir William Herbert gave Tretower Court to his half-brother, Sir Roger Vaughan II, around 1450. Both were prominent Yorkists in battles against Henry VI's Lancastrians.

(3) Thomas Vaughan

(4) Henry Vaughan — Roger Vaughan

(5) Christopher Vaughan

(6) William Vaughan

(7) William Vaughan --- Frances Somerset

(8) Thomas Vaughan --- Denise Morgan

(9) Thomas (Eugenius Philalethes) Vaughan (1621-1666)
or
Thomas (Eirenaeus Philalethes) Vaughan (1612-1678) --- Venus Astarte

(10) Diana Wullisso-Waghan (1647-)

(11) (unnamed) (1670-)

(12) (unnamed) (1700-) — William P. Vaughan

(13) (unnamed) (1730-) — Ayres (1742) — William (1750)

(14) James Vaughan of Boston (1770) — William W. — Thomas (1773)

(15) Diana's Father (1810-) — Leroy — James (1814) — Malinda

(16) Diana Vaughan (1840-) — Anthony W (1848) — Nancy Harp

(17) A.J.Burchett — James (1881) — Cora Call

(18) James (1925)

Notes The circled numerals down the left side refer to successive generations beginning with Sir Roger Vaughan and Gwladys Gam Vaughan, counting theirs as the first. The data concerning Diana Wullisso-Waghan and Diana Vaughan is purely speculative. There is no proven connection between our Vaughans and her Vaughans; neither is there any proven link between Ayres T. Vaughan (1742) and William (1750) who marri Fereby Benton. William P. may or may not have been the name of William's father. The parentage of Malinda (Molly) Vaughan who married Solomon Stone is also lacking i documentation.

Birthdates are, in most instances, estimated. Question marks are used to indicate doubt with regard to a particular familial line. Diana Vaughan claimed to be a great-great granddaughter of Diana Wulliso-Waghan. This could be in error as there appear to be at least one and possibly two generations missing in her calculations. Further information is contained in the chapter dealing with Thomas Vaughan.

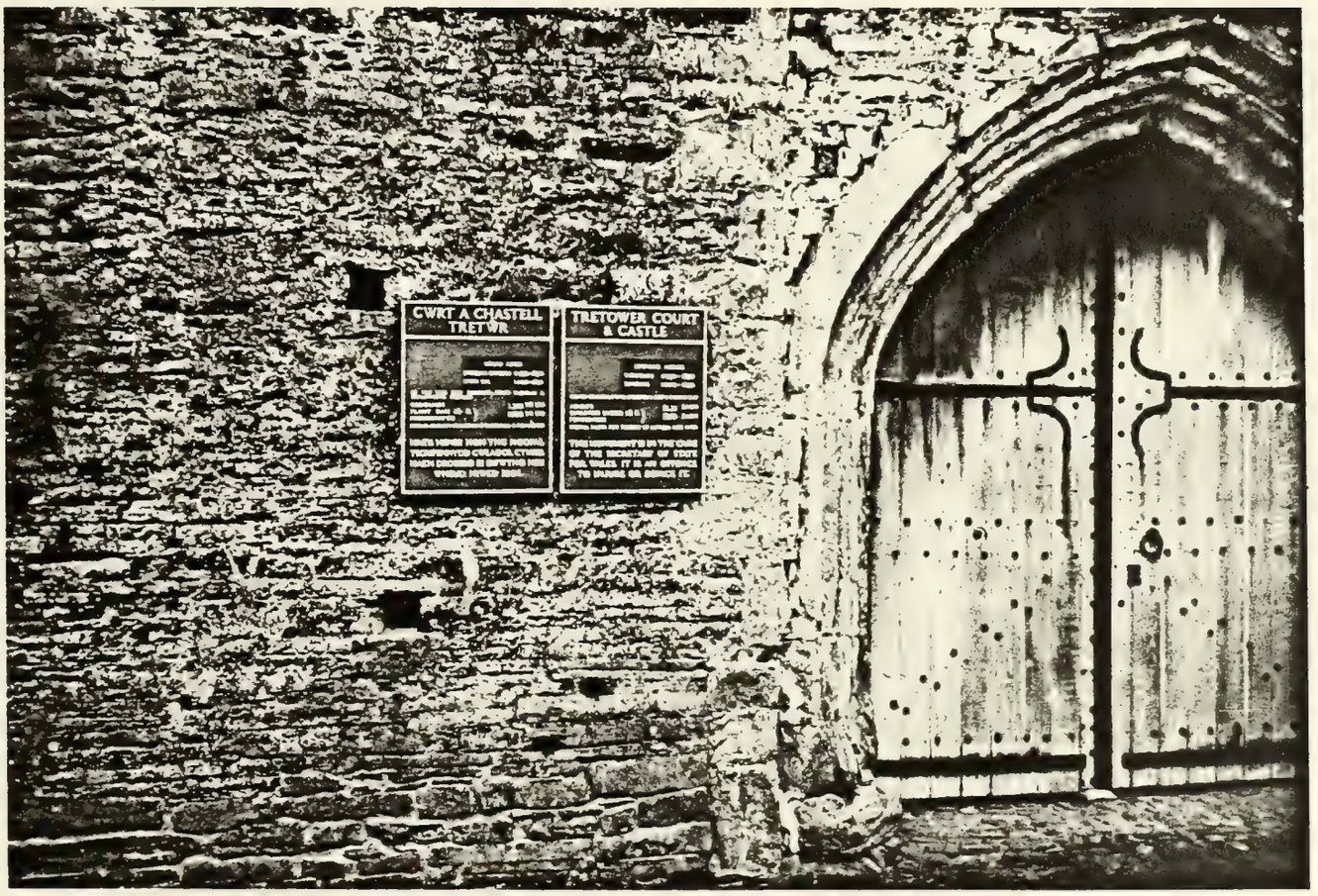
Figure 15

Ruins of Tretower Castle in the Usk River Valley, Tretower, Wales.

Close-up of the round tower, Tretower Castle, 1989.

Figure 16

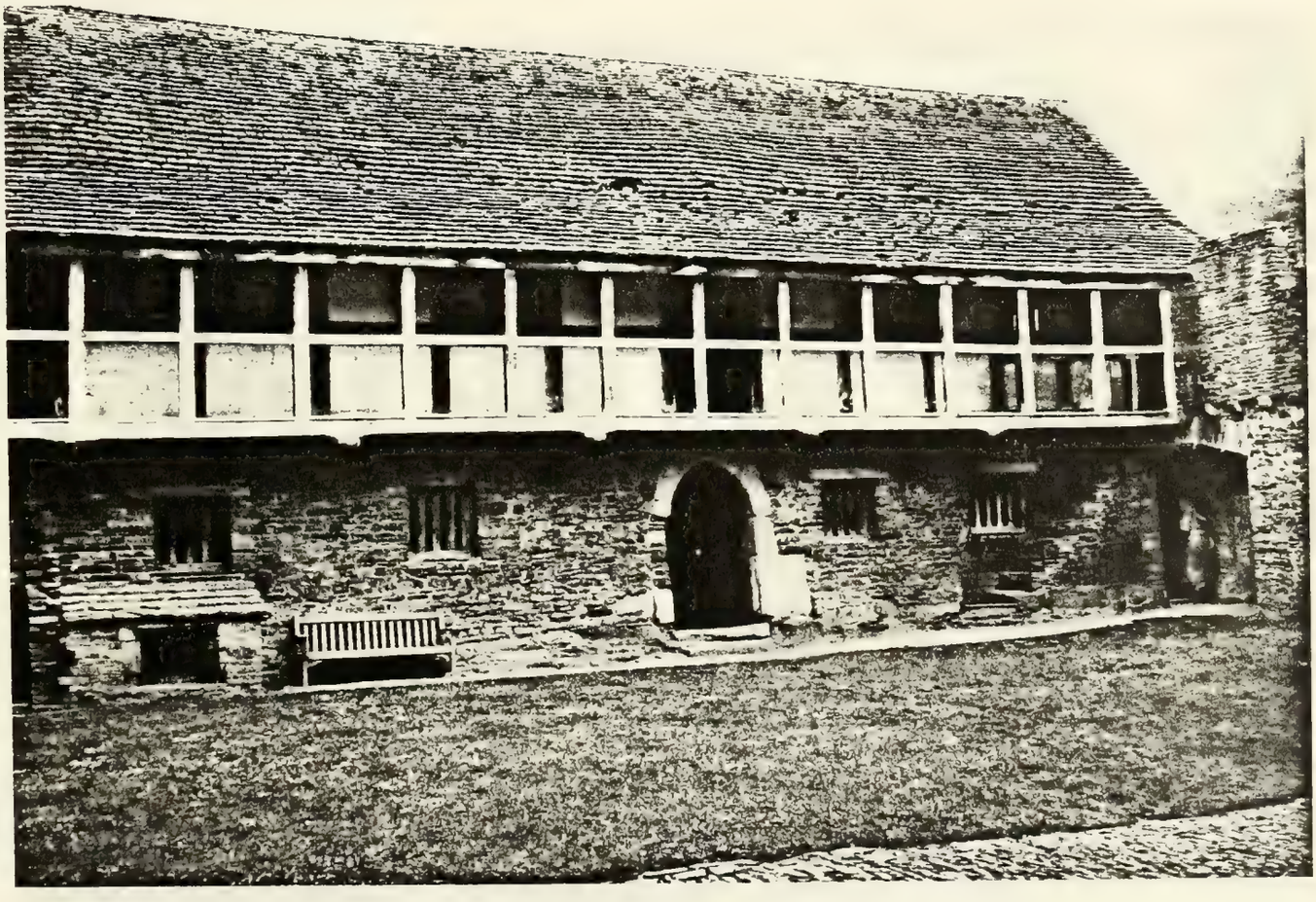
Outside east wall at Tretower Court.



Gatehouse added to Tretower Court ca. 1480.

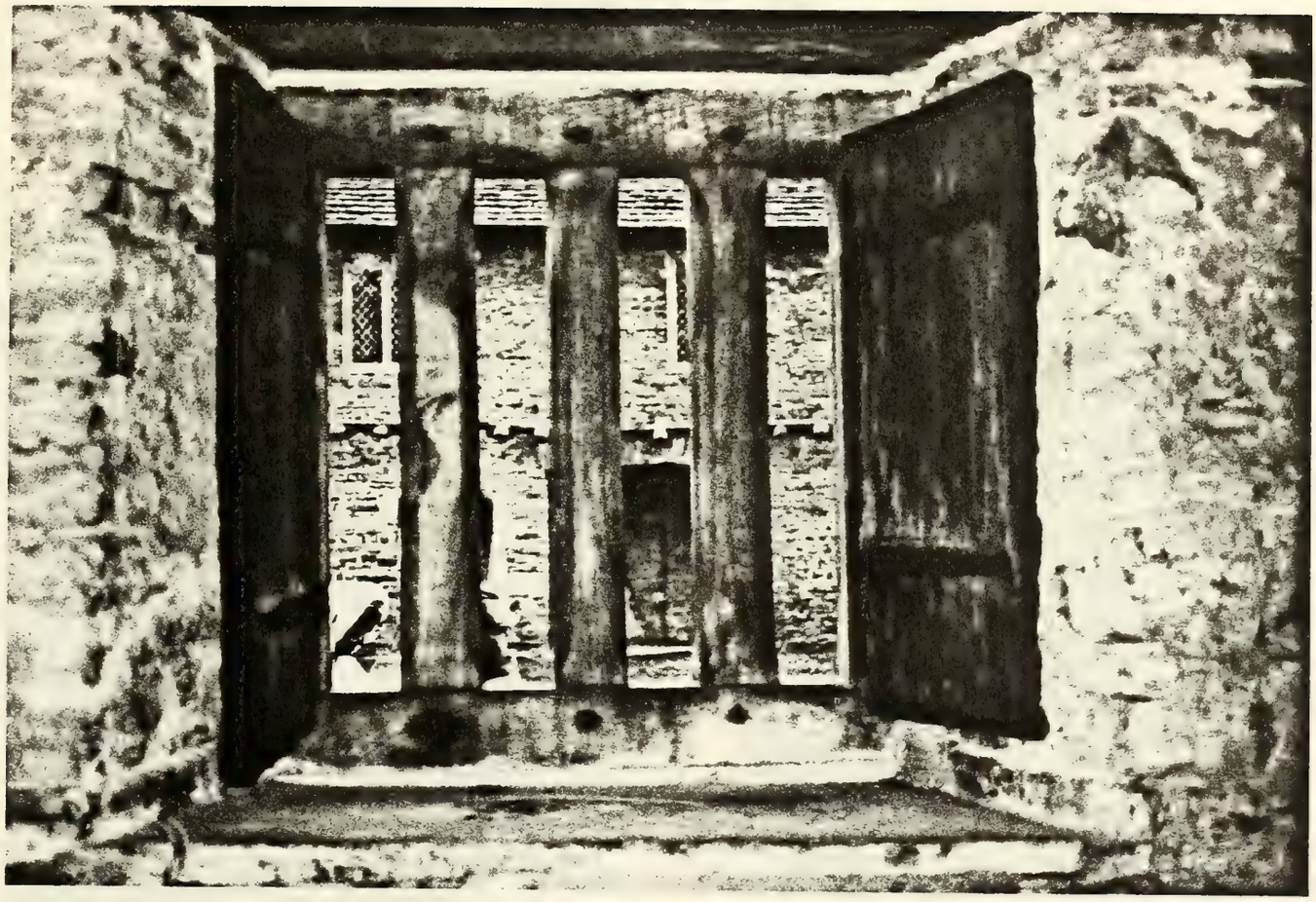
Figure 17

West range, Tretower Court & Manor House, looking east.



North range, Tretower Manor, from within the inner courtyard.

Figure 18



Early fourteenth-century window and shutter, Tretower Manor.

Reconstructed oriel windows in the west range, late fifteenth century.

Figure 19

James Vaughan (1814-1874) and Susannah Wilson Vaughan (1812-1908).

Anthony Wayne Vaughan (1848-1940) and America McBrayer Vaughan (1848-1941).
Family group photograph made around 1916, probably at Winslow, Boyd Co, Kentucky.

Figure 20

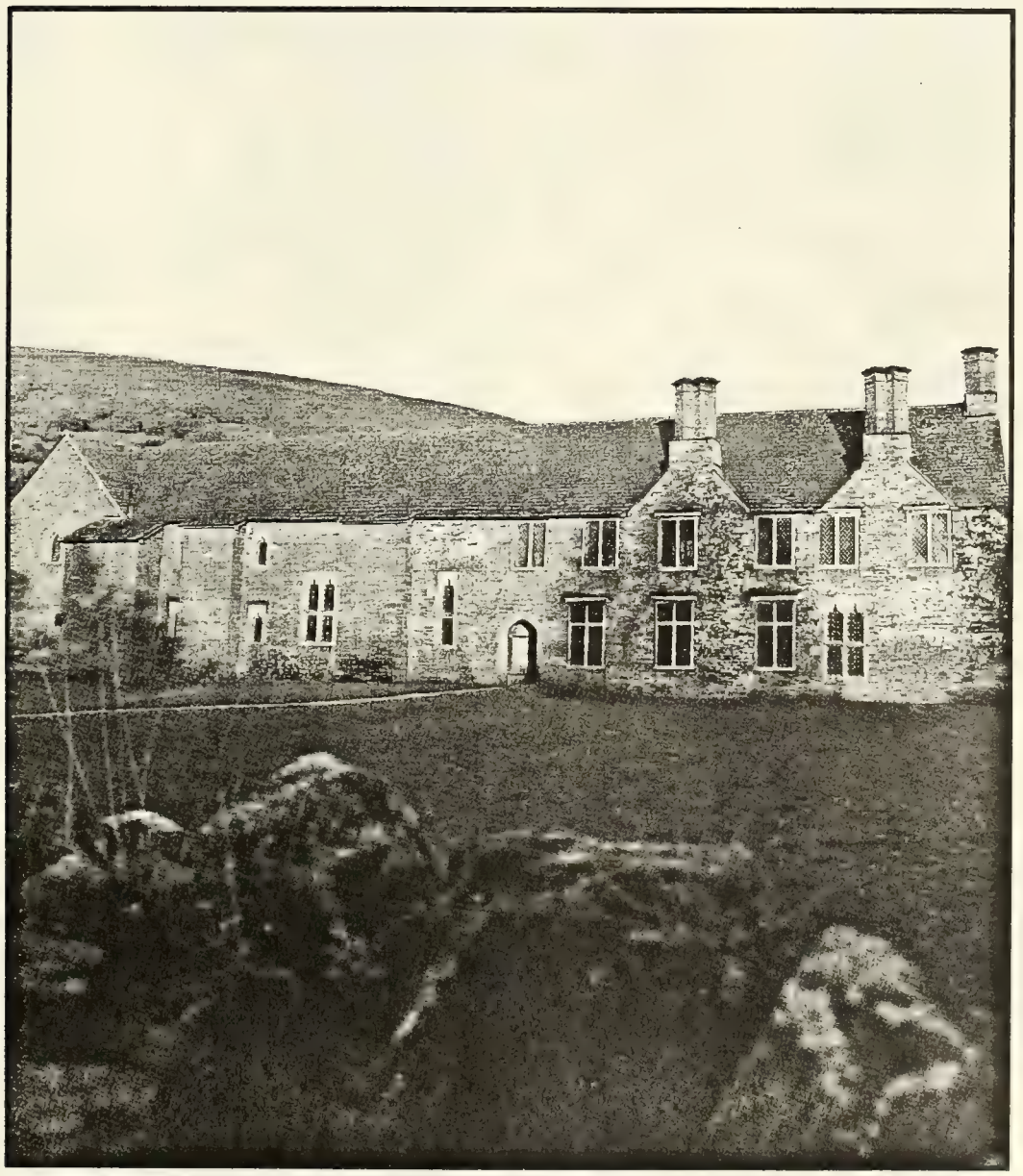
Frances Lynk Vaughan, Ida M. Vaughan, James Vaughan, Ida Vaughan Ball, ca. 1922.

Reproduction of The Arms of the Descendants of Vaughan of Tretower.

Figure 21

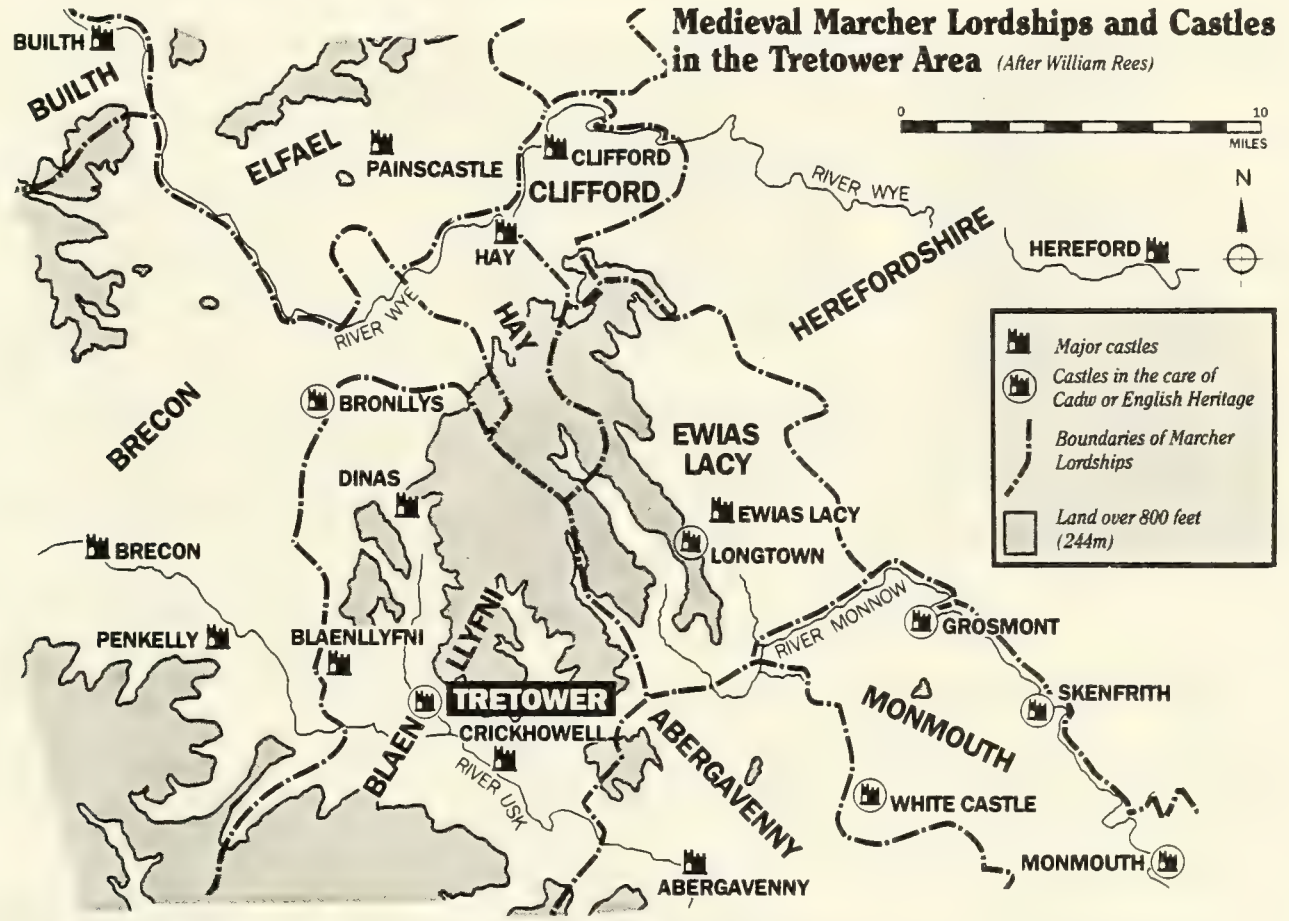
Cadw
WELSH
HISTORIC
MONUMENTS

TRETOWER
Court and Castle



Cover of guidebook to TRETOWER COURT and CASTLE. Reproductions here and on the following pages courtesy of CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments, CARDIFF, CF2 IUY.

Figure 22



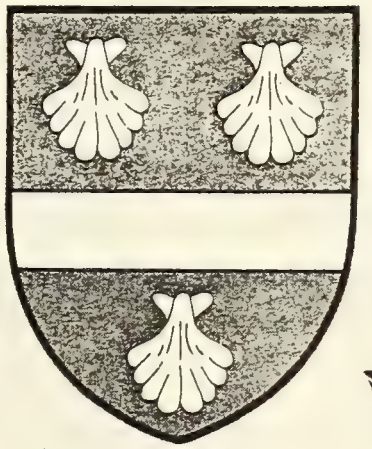
Tretower Castle from the south in 1741, by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck. Notice the bailey walls and towers to the right (By courtesy of the National Library of Wales).

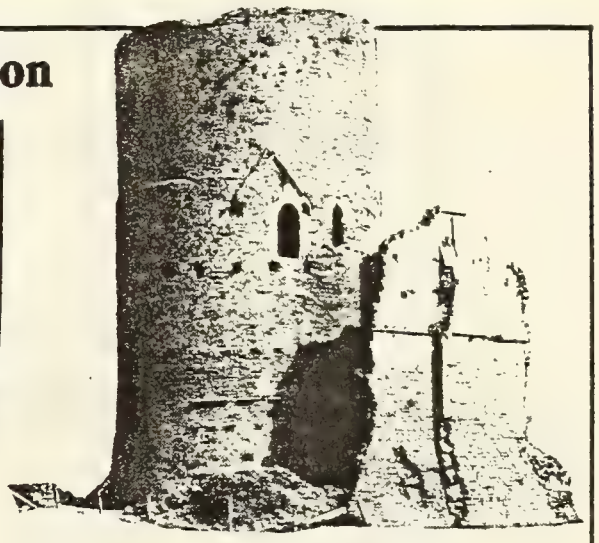
Thus, the transition from castle to house was underway, and the change in the focus of the site had already taken place. Nevertheless, if the castle was no longer a dwelling, it was not immediately allowed to fall into decay. It remained a fortress, capable of use in time of war, and in 1403, during the revolt of Owain Glyndŵr, orders were sent to Sir James Berkeley to furnish and garrison Tretower and hold it for the king. This is the last record of its use for military purposes, but a sketch made at the beginning of the sixteenth century shows the defences intact with the great tower rising above the shell keep and other towers at the angles of the bailey.

Map of the Tretower area and artist's representation of Tretower Castle from the south in 1741. p.3 of the guidebook. Courtesy of CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments.

Figure 23

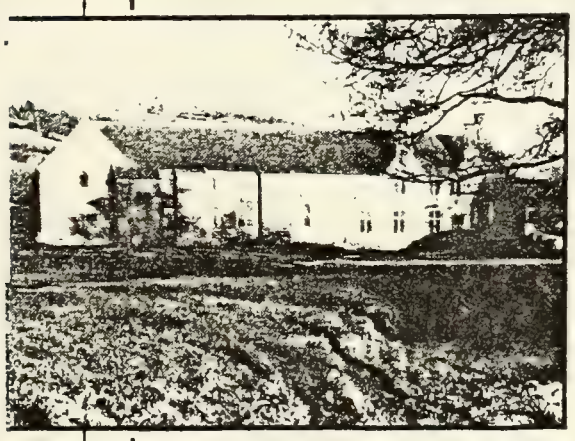
The Tretower Succession





Picard *(c.1090, original wooden castle)*
Roger Picard
(c.1150, shell keep built)
John Picard
John Picard *(c.1200-25)*
Roger Picard *(c.1230-48; great tower built)*
Roger Picard *(died c.1297); Welsh rising)*
John Picard *(died 1305)*
(heiress) *(? Tretower Court first built)*
Amicia Picard = **Ralph Bluet** *(of Raglan)*
(heiress)
Elizabeth = **James de Berkeley** *(died 1405)*
James Berkeley
(became Lord Berkeley 1417)
Sir William ap Thomas = Sir David Gam
(bought Tretower in 1420s from)
Gwladys = Roger Vaughan *(of Bredwardine)*
Roger Vaughan *(the younger, beheaded at Chepstow Castle 1471; north range rebuilt and west range added at Tretower Court)*
Sir William Herbert
(later earl of Pembroke)
(gave Tretower c.1450 to)
Thomas Vaughan *(gatehouse built)*
Roger Vaughan **Henry Vaughan**
Christopher Vaughan *(High Sheriff 1547)*
William Vaughan
Frances = **William Vaughan** *(High Sheriff 1591, died 1613)*
(west range remodelled) **Charles Vaughan** *(High Sheriff 1621, 1625)*
William Vaughan
Thomas Vaughan = Denise Morgan
Henry *(the Silurist)* Thomas
Edward Vaughan **Margaret** = **Thomas Morgan**
Vaughan Morgan
Charles Vaughan *(died 1704)*
Charles Vaughan *(transferred residence from Tretower to Skethrog)*
Charles *(died 1777)*
Charles *(Tretower sold 1783; became a farm)*

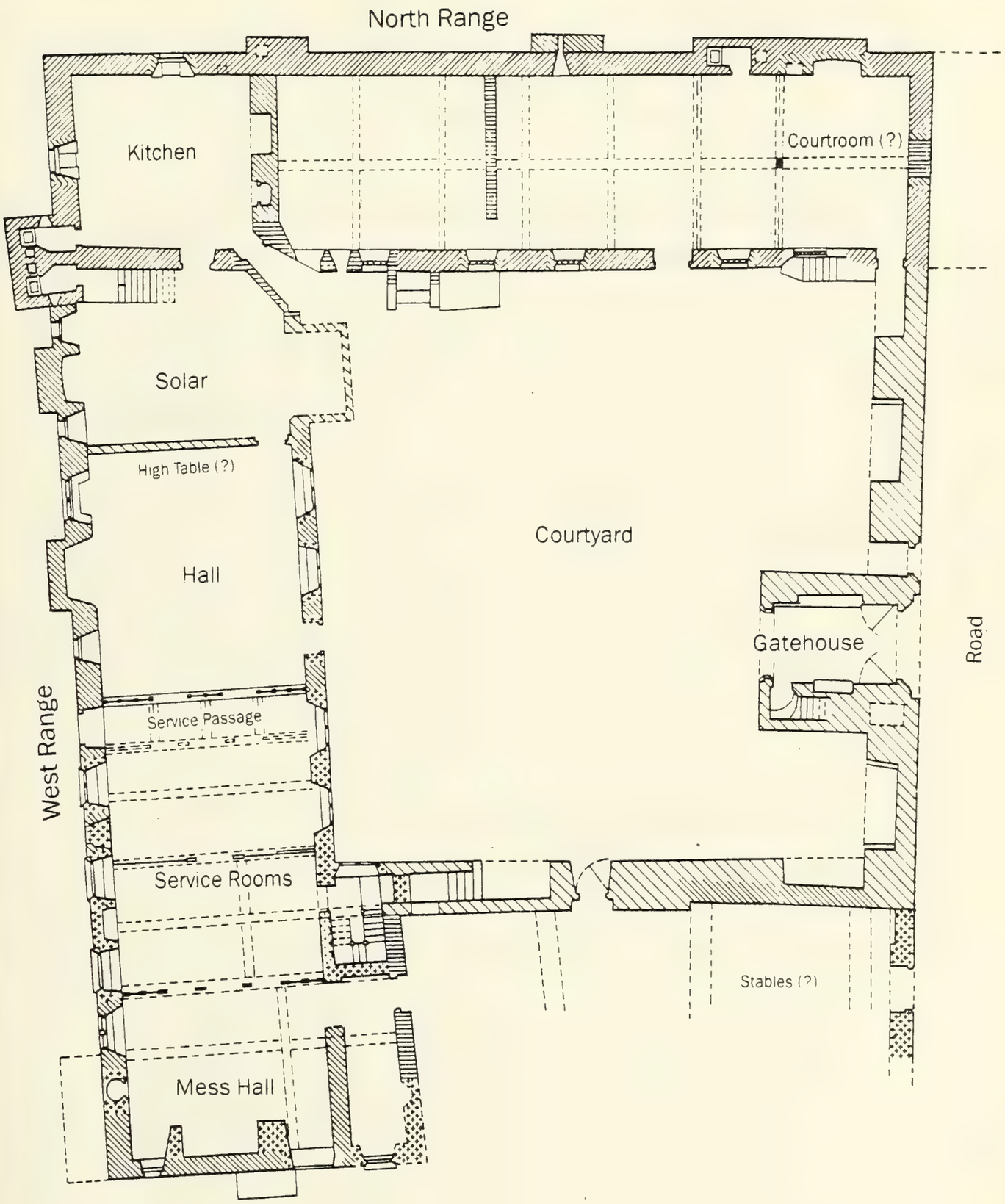
Owners of Tretower Castle or Court Appear Bold



Top Left: *The coat of arms of the Picard family*
Top Right: *Tretower Castle from the west — Home of the Picards*
Left: *Tretower Court from the west — Home of the Vaughan family*

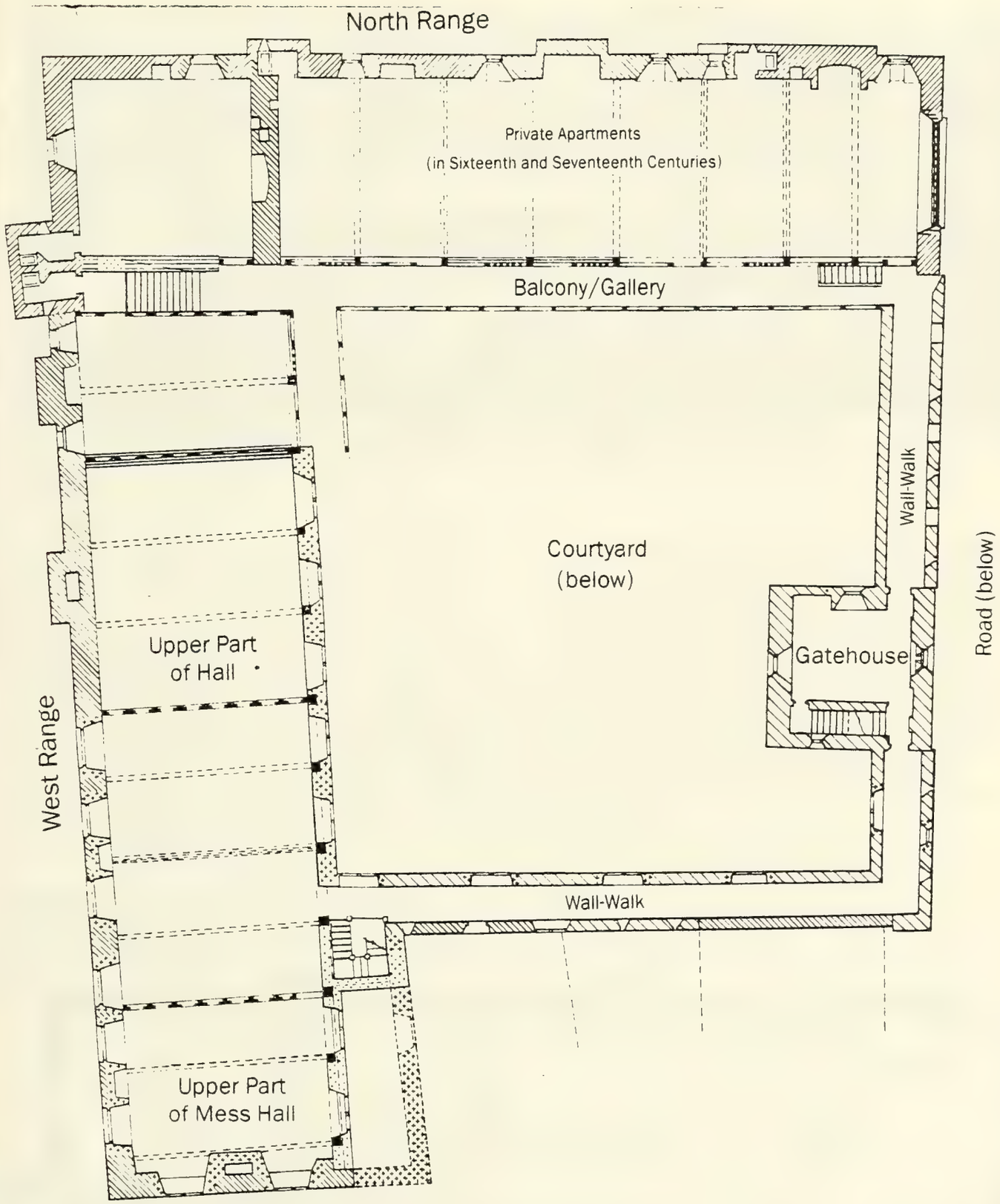
The Tretower Succession from 1090 to 1783. **CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments**

Figure 24



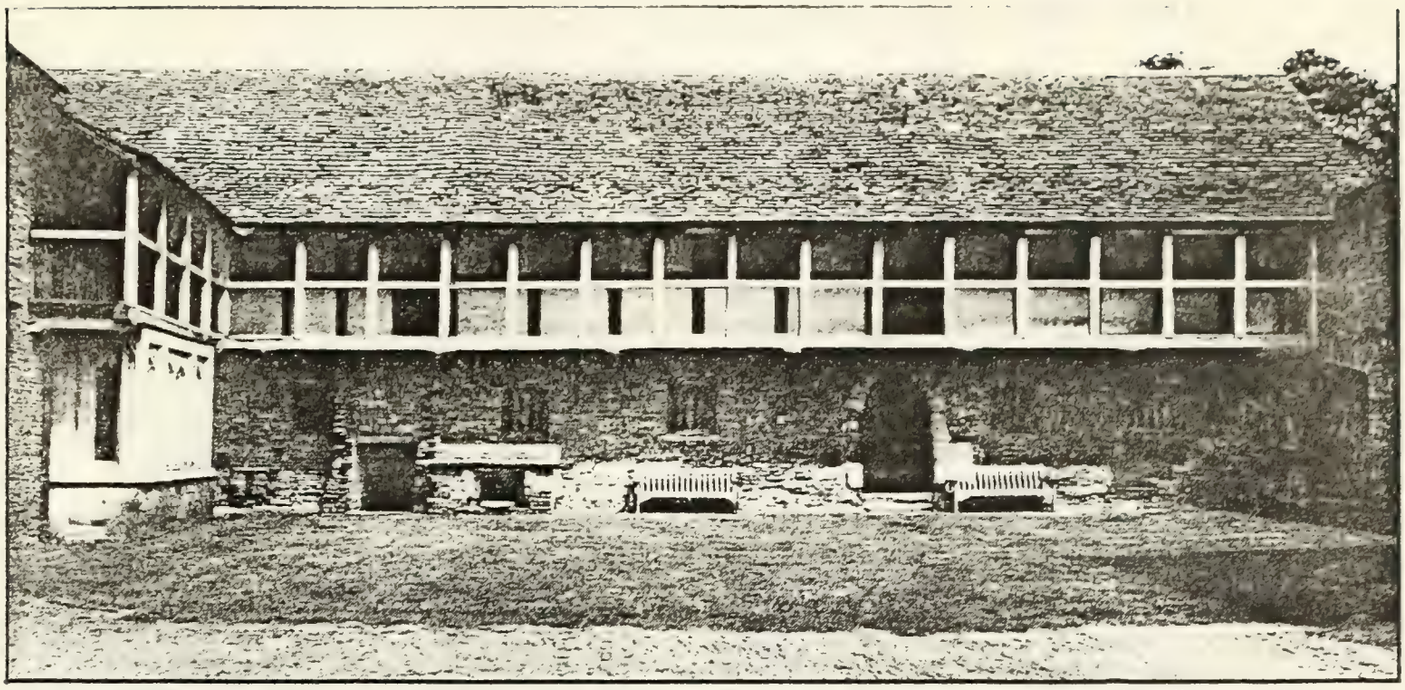
Ground Floor Plan, Tretower Court. **CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments**

Figure 25



First Floor Plan, Tretower Court. **CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments**

Figure 26

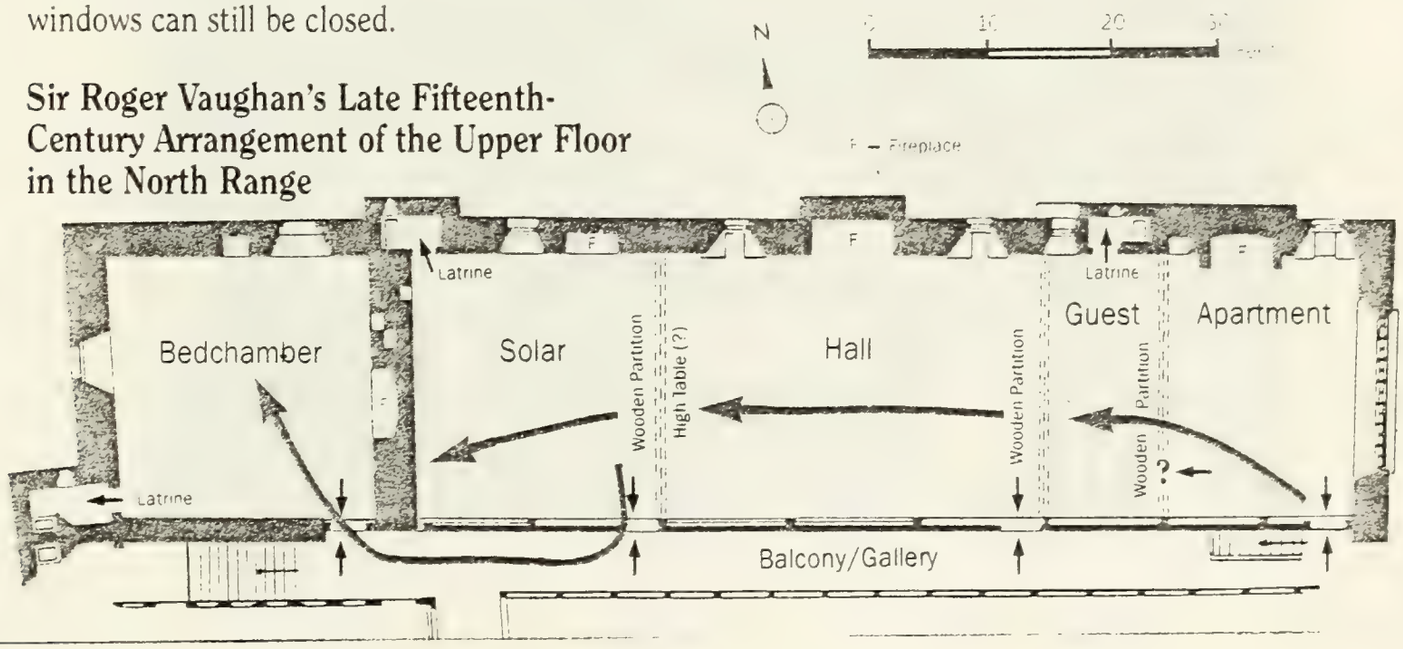


The fourteenth-century north range, which was originally stone through to the roof, is the oldest part of Tretower Court. The wooden gallery was added during fifteenth-century alterations by Sir Roger Vaughan.

The major beams across the floor project five feet (1.5m) beyond the front wall, to carry the balcony with its open front. This balcony would have provided access to each room, without the need to pass through the interior of the building. The main wall behind the balcony is half-timbered, with doors opening out from the former rooms. The windows are rectangular openings, without glass, but barred with thick chamfered uprights. Slotted projections of the sill beams carry wooden shutters, with which several of the windows can still be closed.

Beginning at the eastern end of this range (where the visitor following this tour has just entered), the first two bays formed a single room in the fifteenth-century arrangement, and it is necessary to envisage its original enclosed appearance. The window with its stone seats and the fireplace in the north wall survive from the fourteenth-century house. The projecting edges and the sloping hood of the fireplace are characteristic of that period and contrast with the

Sir Roger Vaughan's Late Fifteenth-Century Arrangement of the Upper Floor in the North Range



Tretower Court in the 14th and 15th centuries. CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments

Figure 27

flat stone lintels set flush with the wall face, which are usual in the fifteenth-century fireplaces at Tretower. The end wall is now pierced with a long window, inserted in the sixteenth century and since restored. A door and window open on to the balcony.

The next (third) bay, again marked by the position of the principal roof trusses, was a separate room. It had a projection at the back, containing a latrine, but was not provided with an entrance from the balcony.

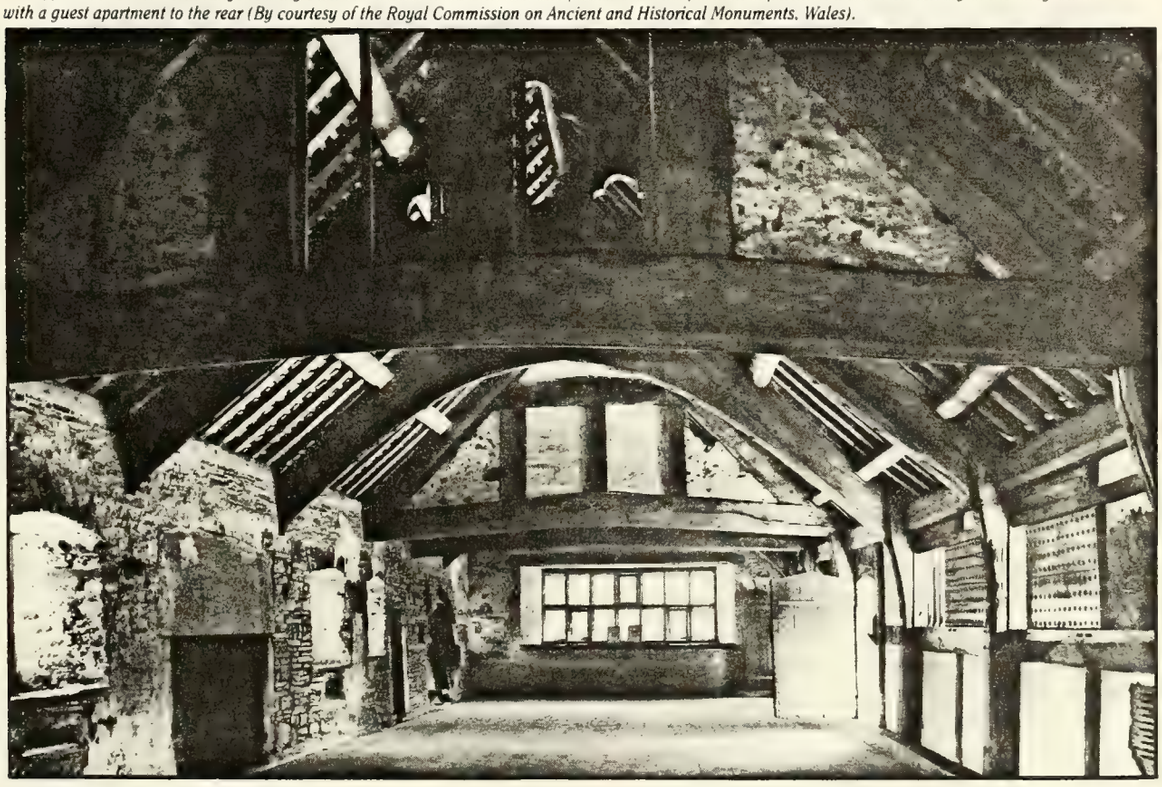
Together, these two eastern rooms formed a separate apartment, and probably served as a guest chamber. Indeed, a man of Roger Vaughan's standing would clearly have dispensed frequent hospitality. Guests concerned with aspects of his political and economic life were no doubt comfortably accommodated in this apartment from time to time. The single entrance for both rooms, off the balcony, would have afforded a good deal of privacy at this end of the range.

The next three bays comprised the principal room on this floor. There are traces of red paint on the roof trusses, with leaves painted on their white plaster infill. A door leads to the balcony, and two windows with wooden shutters also face the courtyard. The centre of the back wall is occupied by a fireplace with a wide opening, and on either side are windows with stone seats. This fine room was evidently designed as a hall, intended to replace the fourteenth-century original which rose from the ground floor below, through to the roof. The new arrangement was not uncommon, with a number of superb first-floor halls known from neighbouring Herefordshire. The high table, at which the family sat during meals, was probably situated along the former partition wall at the west end of this room (see plan).

Beyond the partition, a further room occupied the next two bays, as far as the stone wall at this end. There is a fireplace and a narrow window at the back, with, in the far corner, a small projection containing a latrine lighted by a narrow window loop. A doorway leads out to the balcony, and a window looks over the courtyard. The wall at the west end was inserted in the fifteenth century and replaced a wooden partition. It carries the chimney of a fireplace in the room at the other side. This particular chamber, however, is likely to have been a solar, or private living room.

This arrangement with the solar beyond the upper, or high table, end of the hall was quite

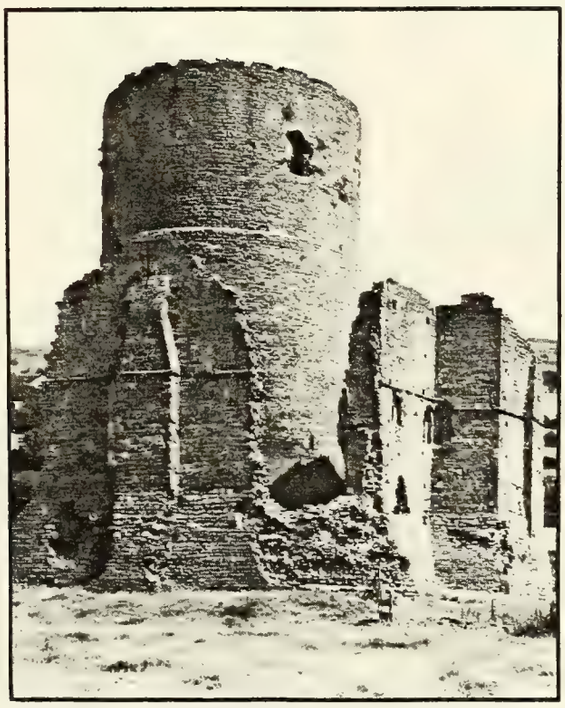
The upper floor of the north range looking east. The trusses filled with lath and plaster mark the position of partition walls. The hall lay in the foreground, with a guest apartment to the rear (By courtesy of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments, Wales).



Upper floor, north range, Tretower Court. **CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments**

A Descriptive Tour of Tretower Castle

Tretower Castle lies some 200 yards (183m) north-west of the court, and it is reached across the meadow at the back of the house. The bailey, which now encloses the modern farmyard, is not accessible to visitors so the following description is largely confined to the buildings on the motte or mound, which are in the care of Cadw.



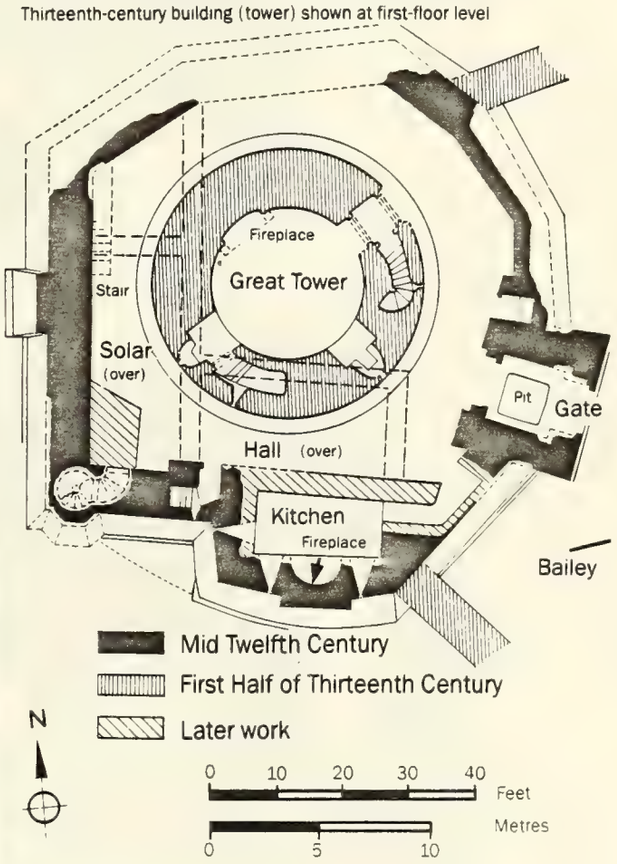
Tretower Castle from the south-west. The thirteenth-century great tower rises from the walls of the earlier shell keep.

Once through the gate at the northern end of the meadow, the path leads up to the south-west slope of the mound. The visitor will notice the remains of the thirteenth-century west bailey wall to the right. Inside, the farm buildings take the place of an early medieval hall, stables and a host of other structures, of both wood and stone. At the foot of the mound, at ground level, there are traces of an arch which carried the bailey wall over the moat at this point.

On reaching the original entrance or gatehouse (see plan), the layout may be observed. The twelfth-century hall and solar lay to the left, where there is a short vaulted passage leading to the kitchen. The entrance to the great central tower is to the right; the scanty remains of the steps which led up to its door occupy the space between the tower and the curtain wall.

Tretower Castle: Ground Floor Plan

Thirteenth-century building (tower) shown at first-floor level



The Gatehouse

The gatehouse was a small rectangular structure, projecting slightly beyond the curtain. Only the base remains, but the thickness of the walls suggests it was carried up as a tower, with a second stage rising above the level of the original wall-walk. The gate itself was set in the inner wall, where the lowest jamb stones can be seen. In the centre of the gatehouse was a small pit, originally spanned by a drawbridge, which would have been pulled up against the gate when not in use. North of the gate, to the right, are the jambs of a door opening on to stairs leading to the upper stage of the gatehouse and the wall-walk.

Figure 29

A Cutaway Through an Impression of Tretower Castle as it May Have Appeared About 1250

(Illustration by Chris Jones-Jenkins)

Representation of Tretower Castle ca. 1250 CADW: Welsh Historic Monuments

Probable Migratory Route Traveled by William & Fereby Vaughan c 1783–1826

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(CALL-STAIRSTEP) **EUREKA SPRINGS: Stair-Step-Town**, 11th Edition, c 1952 by Cora Pinkley-Call, Echo Press, Eureka Springs, Arkansas

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